2: Stefansson--v-vi (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 121

"In 1908 the American Museum of Natural History organized an expedition to the Arctic under the leadership of Vilhjálmur Stefánsson and Rudolph M. Anderson. The object of this enterprise was to make anthropological and zoological studies on the coast between the Mackenzie River and Hudson Bay and on the adjacent islands. The expedition was to be known as the Stefánsson-Anderson Arctic Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History. The plan of the leaders was to travel by land and water with a party of Eskimo and to depend entirely upon their own resources as to food and clothing.

The Canadian Government also aided the expedition with funds and equipment for geographical and geological observations.

Messrs. Stefánsson and Anderson returned to the Museum in September, 1912, after four years of continuous exploration. A full statement of the itinerary is given in Stefánsson's My Life with the Eskimo and is indicated upon the maps accompanying this volume. The publication cited should be read in connection with this volume, since it was the initial announcement of the results of the expedition.

The accompanying volume deals exclusively with observations upon the Eskimo, past and present. As previously stated, Mr. Stefánsson gave his attention to geographical exploration and the study of the Eskimo, while Dr. Anderson pursued zoological and geological investigations, the results of which will be published separately.

Both zoologically and anthropologically the expedition was successful, but it is only with the latter that we have to deal here. The region between Cape Bathurst and King William Island was formerly so little known that one could do no more than conjecture as to what groups of Eskimo lived therein.

Mr. Stefánsson succeeded in visiting thirteen groups in that territory and determining approximately their respective habitats. This alone marks an important advance in our knowledge of the Eskimo. Moreover some data as to the culture, language, and somatology of each group were recorded. This, in comparison with data on the Central and Alaskan Eskimo should give us a fair idea of the whole gamut of Eskimo culture from Greenland to the Aleutian Islands. When it is recalled that anthropologists have found some important differences between the culture of the Alaskan Eskimo and of those around Hudson Bay, it must follow that a boundary line or a transitional belt exists [vi] somewhere in the region visited by Stefánsson and Anderson. The data will give at least a tentative solution of this problem.

As to the past history of the Eskimo, we must appeal to what is in the ground. The expedition noted many ruins of former villages and recorded the character of houses and culture for further study. A point of especial interest is, that from Cape Parry we have a collection of pottery dug up out of the cutbank. Mr. Stefánsson says this pottery is of the Point Barrow type. This one fact is of considerable importance since it greatly

extends the pottery area among the Eskimo. Other archaeological material was secured from the vicinity of Point Barrow and a comparative study of these two collections, one east of the Mackenzie and one west, will prove of great importance.

It appears now that these collections, supplemented by other historical data, will enable Mr. Stefánsson to demonstrate that the introduction of fish nets, labrets, and tobacco pipes was comparatively recent and from the west, whereas pottery was known a long time before; in fact at Point Barrow he reports it as occurring in the oldest known remains of the Eskimo.

Lastly, we may mention the peculiar suggestions of European blood among these Eskimo. This is an interesting somatological discovery. We say traces of European blood because that seems the most reasonable explanation of the observed facts. If a tendency toward blond hair only occurred, the possibility of variation within the group might be granted but since some blondish hair was also curly and associated with eyes of a bluish cast, we have at least three characters peculiar in association to European peoples. That the presence of all in association among a group of Eskimo could be a attributed to accidental variation is almost inconceivable. Consequently Mr. Stefánsson has brought forward as the most reasonable explanation, the theory that the observed admixture is the result of intermarriage with the early Scandinavian colonists in Greenland. No more definite conclusion can now be formed. While most of the mixed groups

had never been visited, explorers had from time to time heard native account of them, and as Mr. Stefánsson says, on Franklin's expedition, one lone Eskimo was encountered in the same locality, an old man with European features and an exceptionally long white beard. If the characters are due to mixture, the infusion must have occurred several hundred years ago and although we may never know precisely how the foreign blood was introduced, a complete record of facts will nevertheless be of interest. These and many other questions raised by the discoveries of Mr. Stefánsson are discussed in the succeeding pages and in the book.

....

CLARK WISSLER

May, 1919."

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2: Stefansson--7 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 131

"INTRODUCTION.

The district traversed by either Dr. Anderson or myself, singly or both of us together, between our reaching the mouth of the Mackenzie River in July, 1908, to our leaving the Arctic in September, 1912, is chiefly a stretch of the north shore of the North American continent, although we penetrated some distance inland on the Colville River in Alaska, in the Endicott Mountains on the Horton River, and on the Coppermine. We also visited Victoria Island and a score or more of the islands of Coronation Gulf; Banks Island we saw only from shipboard. In Alaska the westernmost point visited by sled in winter by members of our expedition was Icy Cape although by water we also visited Cape Lisburne and Point Hope. (1)"

"1. A full narrative of our journeys has been published in 'My Life with the Eskimo.' This report, therefore, gives more particularly the substance of our anthropological observations, but does not duplicate much of the concrete matter in the book, it being taken for granted that the reader is already familiar with the contents of that volume. Most of the important photographs were also reproduced in the book, making them unnecessary in this report."

"Roughly, the limits of the Mackenzie Eskimo are, Herschel Island on the west and Cape Bathurst or the Baillie Islands on the east. There were, however, settlements of these same people as far west as the international boundary line or a little beyond, but although I have known of men who lived in these settlements several years at a time, they do not seem to have had a really permanent character.

East of Cape Bathurst there was also a continuous line of settlements as far as Langton Bay probably up to 1840 and a little after. It is true that from an archaeological point of view, it seems fairly clear that the coast for more than one hundred miles farther east still, was occupied by people of a cultural affinity with the Mackenzie group; but the feeling of the Baillie [12] Islanders themselves is, that the people farther east than Langton Bay were not of their kind.

At Herschel Island the mountains approach within twenty or so miles of the coast and rolling low foothills come nearly down to the sea. The island itself is of irregular shape; its greatest diameters, if no reference be taken to the sandspits, are about eight by five miles. The island is about five hundred feet above sea level at its highest, is tundra-covered and of a clearly alluvial structure, for huge trees similar to those found as driftwood on the beach today may be seen sticking out of the seaward precipices of the island three hundred feet above tide level. The land at the foot of the bay between Herschel Island and Cape Point is low but there are high bluffs in many places from

cape Point east to Escape Reef, which may be considered the western limit of the Mackenzie Delta proper, although in ordinary conditions of weather the sea water is fresh at King Point, twenty-five miles farther to the west. The delta of the Mackenzie is much like the deltas of the other great rivers of the world. It is over one hundred miles wide, filled with a multitude of low willow-covered and driftwood-strewn islands between which channels of unknown number flow northward into the polar sea. The huge volume of fresh water in the spring (the river usually opens between the fifth and twenty-fifth of May) not only melts away the sea ice, but also by its current drives away any that happens to be floating about, so that none but the strongest ones from seaward can fill the immediate vicinity of the delta with ice. The volume of fresh water is so large, that the whaling ships in passing outside of Mackenzie Bay take water for cooking and drinking purposes that has not a taint of brackishness even where land is not in sight from the masthead.

There are everywhere in the neighborhood of the Mackenzie, windrows of driftwood, thousands of cords to the mile in many places, and the most northerly growing spruce are found near the center of the delta at the limit of tidewater or even north of it. In this connection, it is interesting to point out that the tide proper ranges less than a foot and is scarcely ever noted by the natives, but a strong westerly wind will cause a 'storm tide' that rises some six feet above the low level, produced by an easterly gale.

At such places as Herschel Island it is often possible to foretell many hours in advance the coming of a west wind by the rise of the sea.

One hundred years ago the territory definitely possessed by the Eskimo, as opposed to the Loucheux Indians, may be considered to have extended to the head of the Mackenzie Delta; in the vicinity of the Eskimo Lakes, it extended somewhat farther south. Had white men not come in just when they did, it seems likely that the Eskimo would have spread farther upstream for their relation to the Indians was an aggressive one. Their own [13] memory as well as that of the Indians established the fact, which is also confirmed by the records of Franklin's and Richardson's expedition, that they used to make armed expeditions as far upstream as two hundred miles beyond the head of the delta. These expeditions seem to have been for the purpose of obtaining stone for knives and missile points from the deposits at the foot of the cliffs and the Fort Good Hope ramparts. Even after one hundred years the Good Hope Indians are in such fear of the Eskimo that they do not dare to build fires or to camp openly on the Mackenzie River in the summer time, except immediately around the trading posts, and in the old days they seem to have entirely abandoned the river at the time the Eskimo were expected, not returning to it until the time the Eskimo were known to have returned to the sea.

It seems there were semi-friendly relations occasionally with the Loucheux Indians near the mouth of the Peel River. There are traditions of the employment of a trading method, consisting of suspending in trees or leaving in a pile on the ground, articles for the Indians to take. The Indians were expected to and did in fact, leave other articles in exchange. Parties also came into actual contact occasionally, but only for a few hours at a time, for neither trusted the other and even after the establishment of the Hudson Bay Company at Fort McPherson, there were cases when the suspended hostility of these meetings broke into open feud and killings took place. Between the Loucheux and the Eskimo there is no tradition of anything like formal hostile expeditions of one against the other, but as noted above we have definite accounts of organized expeditions into the country of the Good Hope Indians, not real war expeditions it is true, but still expeditions made in force with a show of arms and with no secrecy. The Indians of Good Hope tell that the Eskimo used to come in singing and shouting boatloads. They do not appear to have made incursions into the forest in search of Indians to kill or to plunder. On the other hand, they were so confident in their numbers and strength that they evidently feared no attack.

East of the Mackenzie River all the way to the Anderson, the country is in general low and flat with few or no exposures of rock in situ. In the Anderson, spruce trees come within a few miles of the ocean and on the Eskimo Lakes they extend up to the

middle of the three lakes. If a line be drawn from the southern end of the Eskimo Lakes east to the Anderson River about ten miles from the sea, it will approximately mark the northern boundary of the forest north of which there is low and level tundra interspersed with many lakes. All this was in former years excellent caribou country and until the coming of white men, they were killed in large numbers both inland and on the seacoast as well as on Richard Island. [14]

Richard Island on the eastern edge of the Mackenzie Delta is apparently of alluvial formation and is probably of about the same height as Herschel Island although of a much greater area. This is the only island of the delta proper north of the tree line that seems to have been permanently occupied, although parties engaged in egging and fowling frequented the low islands to the west of Richard Island in early and middle summer. The settlements on Richard Island were chiefly on the east coast, facing the mainland and the main occupation as well as that of the mainland people opposite, was the hunting of the beluga, or white whale.

Seals were not hunted to any great extent by any of the people between Escape Reef on the west and Warren Point on the east. The first village of real sealers was that at Point Atkinson, called Nuvorak. A few white whales were occasionally caught in the summer and sometimes a single family or two might go west to Kittegaryuit and join in a white whale hunt, although these seem to have been rare occurrences. The Nuvurag-

miut hunted caribou towards the foot of Liverpool Bay and also spent part of the autumn there annually in fishing.

Cape Bathurst is a low peninsula nearly cut in two (much more nearly than the charts indicate) by Harrowby Bay. On the eastern or Franklin Bay side, the coast line of the peninsula begins to rise higher after one goes half way to the mouth of Horton River and the sea face rises into steep cliffs that are known as the Smoking Mountains, from the fact that smoke issues from them in various places apparently on account of the existence, deep below the surface, of deposits of coal that have been afire since immemorial times.

Driftwood is very scarce between the tip of Cape Bathurst and Horton River on account of the absence of suitable beaches for it to lodge upon. Horton River has a much smaller delta than would be expected from the size of the river, which we found to be as large as the Coppermine in appearance, although the volume of water it discharges may not be so great. Upon exploration during the winter of 1910-1911, we found this river to come from the southeast. Crossing over from the northeast end of Great Bear Lake from the mouth of Dease River, we took a course northwest true and struck the Horton River some forty miles from the lake. At that point it is already a stream of considerable size coming from the east, and it is likely it may head not far from Dismal Lake and the length of it from its head to the sea is therefore probably over five

hundred miles, as measured along the curves of the river. The main branch apparently rises in Barren Ground and flows through a treeless country for one hundred miles or more, but from a point some forty-five miles northwest of the northeast corner of Great Bear Lake, to a point about half way between the mouth of Horton [15] River and Langton Bay, and about ten miles from the seacoast, there is a continuous fringe of trees which in most places are confined to the valley, although in some parts they spread up over the high land as much as ten miles east of the river. Some thirty miles south of Langton Bay the forest seems to be continuous; west from the Coppermine River to the Anderson, but further south again where the land gets higher, a district of Barren Ground separates these two rivers.

The Indians of Great Bear Lake seem to have regularly hunted north to the headwaters of Horton River, and those of the vicinity of Fort Good Hope hunted on its lower course, and since the days of the Hudson Bay Company, at least, made journeys across the river into the Barren Ground in search of musk-oxen. We have found ancient Indian lodges, the remains of their hunting campfires, within fifteen or twenty miles south of Langton Bay.

In this district the Eskimo occupation seems to have somewhat overlapped that of the Indian, principally in the way in which a similar overlapping takes place in the Horton region for the country that is occupied by the Eskimo in summer during the caribou

hunting, will be vacated by them in winter while they are sealing off on the sea ice and this gives the Indians a chance to make a winter hunting ground of the districts occupied by the Eskimo in summer. An old woman, Panigiok, who was born at Langton Bay and is still living at the Baillie Islands told us that there used to be Eskimo families living on the Barren Ground some fifteen miles southeast of Langton Bay near Horton River who never came to the sea except on short visits and who purchased seal blubber from the coast people, exactly as the inlanders of Alaska did at such places as Point Barrow.

There was semi-friendly contact, apparently with considerable frequency, between the various groups of Eskimo that hunted to the foot of Liverpool Bay and the head of Anderson River, and the Hare or other Indians of Fort Good Hope. Murders seem to have been frequent on both sides and captives were carried off by both, but occasionally marriages were voluntarily arranged, the woman going to the people of her husband. This is said to have taken place with about equal frequency on both sides. At present there is no Indian woman living with the Eskimo, but one Eskimo woman to my knowledge is now with the Indians, having been transferred to them by her foster parents while she was a child.

East of Horton River begin the Melville Mountains which extend thence eastward parallel to the coast until they break up into isolated hills and disappear in the generally high land towards the west side of Coronation Gulf. From Langton Bay west for fifty

miles or so, they have the character [16] of a coast range which bars the way to the ocean against the Horton River which, through this stretch, has to flow about parallel to the coast until an opening to the sea is secured at the west end of the mountains. Two miles or so west of Langton Bay, it is only perhaps a mile and a half from the ocean to the top of the mountains. From here east for some distance they have the character of the seaward face of a plateau; looked at from seaward you have mountains of a height of about 1500 feet, but when you climb to the top of them you find yourself on a plateau that slopes almost imperceptibly southward to the Horton River ten or fifteen miles away.

The Parry Peninsula is high and rocky towards its north end and so cut up by fjords that it comes near being a group of islands instead of a peninsula. There is in fact more than one place where a stone can be thrown from the waters of one fjord to those of the next. The hills which form the north end of the peninsula rise to a height of two or three hundred feet, and from their tops in clear weather one can plainly see Banks Island sixty miles to the north, for the two thousand feet high hills immediately back of Nelson Head are well above the horizon.

The Booth Islands lie six or eight miles off shore west from the tip of Cape Parry and consist of two small islands and some isolated rocks. Both these islands as well as the mainland of Cape Parry were in former times the site of numerous villages of people who no doubt lived chiefly by sealing, but also partly by bowhead whaling. These were

too, no doubt, the occupations of the people all around the shore of Franklin Bay as is shown by the fact that bones of whales abound on the beach near the village sites and have been used in the construction of many of the houses.

Near the foot of Cape Parry on the Franklin Bay side are numerous good fishing places, both in the sea and in the lakes that form a chain towards Darnley Bay. Through these lakes runs a river, the mouth of which is back of Point Stivens. In early summer this river with its system of lakes, furnishes a portage route for a boat drawing not more than a foot or eighteen inches of water to within about half a mile of Darnley Bay, while the total distance from Langton Bay to Darnley Bay is about twenty miles. Although the tip of Cape Parry is high and rocky, as before stated, the neck of the peninsula along the foot of the Melville Mountains is in general low and flat, though there are some groups of rolling hills. In one place, surrounded by large areas of level marsh tundra, is a volcano-shaped hill, about one hundred fifty feet high with a small lake in its crater.

The bottom of Darnley Bay has never been mapped. We found two hitherto unnamed rivers of considerable size flowing one into its southeast corner and the other into its east side some ten miles farther north. From the Bay south, it is but a day's journey to trees on a big branch of the Horton [17] River that heads in some lakes in the vicinity. Cape Lyon is a rocky promontory where the coast turns a sharper angle than I have

seen anywhere else. There is a change in direction of the coast line of more than a right angle in the space of half a dozen yards. Here there is the most westerly gull rookery that I have seen, although I suspect there may be some in the rocks found near the coast of Cape Parry, but which I have never had occasion to pass in the summer time. From here on east to Coronation Gulf, as well as in parts of Victoria Island, these rookeries are found at greater or less distances apart wherever there are suitable cliffs. They are not so extensive in any place, however, that they can ever have formed a considerable part of the food supply of the people at the time the coast was inhabited. The species found here is chiefly the glaucous gull.

On our way eastward from Cape Lyon we made a discovery of some possible importance to future navigators; we found an apparently excellent ship harbor in the tip of Point Pierce. Point Pierce is a high promontory, its two hundred foot cliff of stratified limestone being the highest and most picturesque that I have seen on the entire Arctic coast. Just east of this cliff, between it and the sandspit which connects a series of granitic knolls, there is a harbor evidently deep, for there were big cakes of ice inside it, and sheltered from all winds. Continuing east from here, we found but two more ship shelters on the way to Coronation Gulf. The first is at Point Keats which is T-shaped so that a vessel can get shelter on one side or the other from any wind that blows, or so it seems, although this is apparently a fairly dangerous coast and there may be

hidden reefs in the neighborhood, for there was no heavy ice near to give us an indication of the depth of water. The other harbor is behind a little island on the mainland shore of Dolphin and Union Straits and is so difficult to find that I doubt that I myself could locate it again, except by the compass bearings. From the west end of the island which shelters the harbor, I found the west end of Sutton Island bears west 338°30' and the east end of Sutton Island 1°. This is certainly a good boat harbor and a very good one for ships, if it proves deep enough. In general, the coast line between Cape Lyon and Coronation Gulf is high with cliffs here and there usually of limestone, although there are some sandstone formations.

It was at Cape Lyon that Richardson saw the most easterly house of earth and wood and he therefore concluded that this was the eastern limit of the whale-hunting people who dwelt in permanent villages. This was by no means the most easterly village, however. It was merely Dr. Richardson's method of travel which prevented him from finding similar villages or the ruins of them farther east. He stood along in boats well off shore usually, and had not the same chance of finding what human remains there [18] are on the beach that we did through our method of sled travel, although of course even to us many things self-evident in summer may have been hidden by snow. We found the ruins of earth and wood villages, however, as far east as the west side of the delta of Crocker River, and in many places along the beach between there and Cape

Lyon we found such quantities of the bones of whales that we were convinced whaling must have been one of the industries of this entire district."

116, 133

"Along this coast as far east as Crocker River the Melville Mountains run approximately parallel to the coast, from three to ten miles inland. In some cases the foothills proper come right to the coast, in others there are stretches of comparatively low although rocky and hilly country. Between Crocker River and Inman River the mountains get farther from the coast and apparently lower. Richardson estimates the Melville Mountains in general to be about five hundred feet high, but I found, in the spring of 1911, that standing at sea level at Bell Island near the southwest corner of Victoria Island, I could see the mountains on the mainland up to Point De Witt Clinton, and even there it was apparently rather a fog or clouds that obstructed the view down, after the mountains ran properly below the horizon. This means that the Melville Mountains should be....between fifteen hundred and two thousand feet.

On his first journey along this coast, our only predecessor, Sir John Richardson, saw to seaward near the mouth of Crocker River, what he considered an island lying about twelve miles off shore. He named this Clerk Island. On his second voyage in 1848, apparently Sir John did not see Clerk Island. No one else has traversed the coast, but both Collinson and Amundsen passed at a considerable distance out to sea and neither of them saw the island. In the spring of 1910, we were fortunate in the neighborhood of Crocker River, in having in general clear weather and with my field glasses I used to climb high hills near the coast every few miles and look to seaward hoping to see the island. Had there been an Eskimo village twelve miles to seaward

where the island was supposed to lie, I should have been able to see it; but there was no sign of anything but sea ice. In the spring of 1911 we crossed by sled in a direct line from Bell Island for Point Tinney. This should have taken us across the corner of Clerk Island as it is plotted on our charts and again we saw no signs of it. I think it is clear, therefore, that either Clerk Island does not exist or else it is at some place remote from that laid down by Richardson."

2: Stefansson--18-19 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 313

"Driftwood gets gradually scarcer as one goes east along the coast, although from the point of view of a traveling party that needs wood for fuel there is plenty to Cape Bexley and even beyond. There are few places where you can travel five miles at a stretch without finding a deposit of [19] driftwood sufficient to supply a camp for a week. The sticks you find, however, get smaller as you proceed east and more water-worn. They are excellent for firewood, however, as they are dry through lying on a rocky beach. Only in the mouths of rivers, such as Inman River, did we have trouble with wet and rotten wood where it was imbedded in sand or river mud."

2: Stefansson--19 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 131

"It may be considered roughly that the territory of the mainland occupied by the Copper Eskimo is bounded on the west by the 118th meridian from the coast to where it intersects Dease River. The line of the extreme boundary will run a little west of south, thence to McTavish Bay of Bear Lake and from the east end of that Bay, straight east to the Coppermine River. It will probably continue about straight east from there until it reaches the longitude of Bathurst Inlet after which it will run southeast to Back River and to the Akilinik.

It is better to leave the eastern limit of these people undefined until our information shall become more complete than it is up to the present, but we can safely discuss their northward range. As stated elsewhere, they occupy regularly only the southeast coast of Banks Island east of Nelson Head."

2: Stefansson-19 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 131, 172

"Although they have knowledge of the coast farther west, it is not probable that any of the Copper Eskimo go west beyond Crocker River. We saw signs of ancient occupation in the form of broken sleds and split sticks of driftwood all along the coast, but fresh signs (ones not over three or four years old) we did not find until we reached Point Wise!"

2: Stefansson--19-20 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133

"At Nelson Head the land rises rapidly to a height of at least two thousand feet two or three miles back from the beach. The south quarter of Banks Island may be considered high, although the extreme south appears to be the highest, and there is a gradual slope to the north, or at least that is what one gathers from what the Eskimo tell us, supplemented by the accounts of Collinson and M'Clure. Cape Kellett at the southwest corner of Banks Island is a long low sandpit and back of it to the eastward the land appears low. As far north on the west coast of Victoria Island as the Eskimo at present range, which need not be considered to be farther north than the latitude of 72°, the coast line is mountainous although the mountains are not very high. From the information of the Prince Albert Sound people this mountainous character is continued well into the country. We crossed the Wollaston Peninsula approximately in longitude 113°30′ west, and found it to be mountainous also all the way across. Our route was through a sort of a pass and there seemed to be higher mountains on either end. To the east there was an especially conspicuous range which had never been seen by white men before and as it appeared as a whole to have no native name, we called it the Museum Range to commemorate the connection of the [20] American Museum of Natural History with the expedition. From Eskimo report we learned, however, that there is a belt of low land stretching across Victoria Island approximately straight east from the foot of Prince Albert Sound to Albert Edward Bay. This strip consists of the valleys of the two rivers that are probably the largest in Victoria Island: the Kagloryuak which heads near the

center of the Island and flows west into the foot of Prince Albert Sound and the Ekalluktok which heads in the same vicinity with the Kagloryuak and flows east into Albert Edward Bay. It seems from Eskimo report that the eastern half of Victoria Island is in general low. This is corroborated so far as they go by the observations of Rae, Collinson, and Lieut. Hansen of Amundsen's expedition."

2: Stefansson--20 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133, 137

"The country between the 118th meridian and Coronation Gulf can scarcely be called mountainous but rather high, hilly, and rocky. There is an abundant vegetation of grasses, mosses, and lichens in the low places, but the high hill tops are in many cases barren on account of their rocky character. There are some rivers of size, but the details of them are unknown to us except that we were told that Rae River heads in an oval-shaped lake, apparently about twenty miles long that lies south of Staypleton Bay which, by the way, is not nearly so deep a bay as the maps indicate. There are commonly the smallest of dwarf willows said to be found anywhere north of the Rae River, and that river itself is not well supplied, but the Richardson River which has its mouth just south of that of the Rae has, we were told, considerable growth of willows in its valley and this we verified through finding heaps of drift willow at its mouth."

2: Stefansson--20-21 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 132, 133

"The Coppermine, as elsewhere described, is well wooded. It is one of the swiftest large rivers of the world and is therefore never likely to be commercially valuable for anything except water power. It is practically a continuous rapid, but there are no real falls in it, not even the so-called Bloody Fall which is really a shelving cascade or rapid about six hundred yards long. On account of the general rocky character of the country, the valley of the Coppermine is much narrower than would be expected from the volume of water it carries, and the stream itself runs through a confined bed and is seldom over three hundred yards wide and that only in shallow places, while one hundred thirty yards may be considered its average width between Kendall River and the sea while there are many places much narrower than this. Being the swiftest of the great northern rivers, the Coppermine is also peculiar in the roughness of its ice in winter. What apparently happens is that first the river freezes over to a greater or lesser thickness of ice and then the rush of the water causes this original roof of ice to break down and cave into the water. The swift current seizes the blocks of ice and whirls them downstream until something occurs to make a [21] blockade and there they are heaped together on edge and in every other way while level ice again forms over the open water which has just been swept clear. A few days or weeks later another cave-in may occur where the ice lies smooth and the same process is repeated. But where a jam has once been lodged and cemented together there the ice will remain approximately unchanged all winter. As the season advances the water in the stream bed gets less and less. In

many places in the Coppermine there seems to be a sort of winding secondary channel in the bed of the river proper so that towards spring there is really only a little creek running through this curved and ice-roofed water course. Eventually the roof over even this sometimes caves down, but usually only after the ice becomes so thick (say over a foot) that it does not break small and float in cakes as the younger ice did earlier in the year. The current is not so strong late in winter, with the result that this last cave-in produces pits and valleys in the river ice proper. In the centers of some of these the ice is eight or ten feet below the general level of the river in the months of March and April. In the spring when the thaws begin, it is along this channel that the melted snow water first begins to run and we found in the first week of June, 1910, that where the rest of the ice of the river was comparatively solid, this creek had commenced flowing and had eaten through the ice so that although the water had not risen sufficiently to flood the river as a whole, nevertheless a crossing could be made by sled."

2: Stefansson--21 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133

"If one walks southward or southeastward over this country in foggy weather or at night one will often go up so gradual an incline that the country seems level, until suddenly one comes to precipices where it is necessary to scramble down forty to sixty feet of cliff and talus slope. If the walk be continued southward, this experience will be repeated."

2: Stefansson--21 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133, 221

"The popular summer hunting district which lies between Bear Lake and the Coppermine River north of the parallel of 66° is largely Barren Ground on account of its high and rocky character, although trees of good size are found in all the creek beds round about. East of the Coppermine too, so far as we know it, the land is high and rocky and devoid of trees for the same reason."

2: Stefansson--21-22 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133

"The south shore of Coronation Gulf averages much higher than the north shore. A striking feature of the topography south of the Gulf is a series of rocky terraces. If one walks southward or southeastward over this country in foggy weather or at night one will often go up so gradual an incline that the country seems level, until suddenly one comes to precipices where it is necessary to scramble down forty to sixty feet of cliff and talus slope. If the walk be continued southward, this experience will be repeated.

Apparently the character of the bottom of Coronation Gulf is similar to the character of the land south of it. There are many times more islands than the chart indicates and these lie in chains extending from the west side of the Gulf eastward or northeastward. Most, if not all of these islands have precipices to the south or southeast and slope down gradually [22] to the north or northwest. There is deep water close up to their precipitous faces while from their low north ends dangerous reefs extend. There are many boulders of all kinds found on the surface of some of these islands. The islands themselves seem chiefly basaltic and the cliffs are typical columnar basalt. In a few cases we found the basaltic upper portion of the island underlain by stratified limestone."

2: Stefansson--22 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 135

"It is of great significance to the people of this district that native copper is found in many places. I have known of a piece of copper float as large as a house-building brick picked up on the north shore of McTavish Bay, Great Bear Lake, and from here north copper is known to occur either in the form of float along the stream courses or native copper outcrop from the hillside all the way north to at least forty miles north of Prince Albert Sound in Victoria Island a distance of over three hundred miles. The western limit of copper deposits known to us is in the vicinity of Dismal Lake, while to the east it extends at least to the east shore of Bathurst Inlet."

2: Stefansson--22 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 316, 326

"It is naturally difficult for the natives to cut the native copper where it occurs in huge masses or as an outcrop and most of the material actually used for knives and other things is picked up in the form of small fragments along the banks of the rivers. Smelting is quite unknown and nothing is ever done with the copper except to pound it with stones and to sharpen the edges of cutting tools by grinding them against rough stones."

2: Stefansson--22 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 313

"Although wood is not used for fuel except to a slight extent in summer, the occurrence of trees on the Coppermine and the head of Dease River, draws people from great distances to these places each summer for they need wood continually for various things, and driftwood of a character suitable for implements and utensils is found only on the coast of the Gulf."

2: Stefansson--22 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 317, 415

"As pointed out elsewhere another geological feature of great importance to the people is the occurrence of talc chlorite, of a character suitable for the making of pots and lamps, at the mouth of Tree River and at certain places farther east."

2: Stefansson--22-23 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133, 313

"Before quitting this geographical discussion it is worth while to comment especially upon the anomalous economic importance of the Mackenzie River to all the district west of Coronation Gulf and east of Point Barrow. Not only does the huge volume of warm water temper somewhat the climate at the immediate mouth of the river and alter the seasons to a degree, but the river also supplies building material for the construction of houses for more than one thousand miles of coast and material for the construction of the framework of boats and for all the smaller wooden things that the Eskimo need. Most of this wood comes from the Liard branch of the Mackenzie River. Although a great river, the Liard does not bring down as much driftwood as does the Peace or the Slave and it is possible that even [23] the Athabaska River may carry as much wood as does the Liard: but unfortunately practically all the wood brought by the Peace and Slave is deposited on the shores of Great Slave Lakes. On neither of these lakes is the driftwood of any considerable economic importance while on the Arctic coast it would be of incalculable value to the Eskimo, should they survive for any considerable period, or to the white men, should numbers of them ever come to occupy the coast."

2: Stefansson--23 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 361

"In the region of the Mackenzie Delta there were a large number of permanently inhabited village sites. By permanent habitation, however, we mean only that there were houses at these places which were occupied regularly year after year at corresponding seasons for a month or more at a time. The most important of the western settlements was that one of the three on Herschel Island which was called Kigirktayuk. This name was sometimes even in the old days applied to the island as a whole, and now that the other two village sites on the island have been abandoned the name for the village has become synonymous for that of the island. Between Herschel Island and the Mackenzie River were several village sites, the most important of which seem to have been Kingak near King Point and Tapkark on the Shingle Point sandspit."

2: Stefansson--23-24 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116

"It is true of all Eskimo tribes that they use for distant tribes other names than those which really belong to those tribes. From the point of view of the Kittegaryuit people, for instance, the people west of the Mackenzie River to and a little beyond Herschel Island were known as the Tuyormiat. The people of Point Barrow and Cape Smythe who were called by themselves the Nuvûgmiut and Utkiavigmiut were called by the Kittegaryuit people collectively Apkvarmiut. All other western people were grouped collectively under the term Nunatagmiut.

Two names that may be used anywhere for one's neighbors up or down the coast were therefore naturally in use in the Mackenzie section. These are Uallinergmiut, the people up the coast, and Kagmalit, the people down the coast. It is an interesting fact that whereas in going west along the mainland coast from Baillie Island west the next people may always be called Uallinergmiut while the next people east are Kagmalit, but to this rule there is one striking exception, the people of the Colville River although living south and east of Point Barrow always spoke of the Barrow people as Kagmalit. This is what one would expect had the Colville people first become familiar with the Barrow people at the time when the Colville tribe were living on the seacoast to the west of Cape Smythe. This is what would have happened had Alaska been peopled by a migration from the east along the coast which had followed the shore around until it got to Kotzebue Sound and had then sent a branch up the Noatak and back down the Colville. [24]

From the point of view of the Mackenzie people, the Baillie Islanders and other comparatively near neighbors to the east were known as Kagmalit but beyond them lived the Nagyuktogmiut. Under this term of Nagyuktogmiut they vaguely grouped all the distant easterners just as they with equal vagueness called the inland Alaskans, Nunatagmiut. Just as we found that the Nunatagmiut were really but one of the many tribes of interior Alaska so we also found later on that Nagyuktogmiut are but one of the many tribes of the Copper Eskimo. Although the name of no other tribe seems to have penetrated as far west as the Mackenzie or if any did penetrate that far they have at least now been forgotten."

2: Stefansson--24 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 175

"As the relation of the Mackenzie Eskimo to the Indians was an especially aggressive one they had pushed their settlements a considerable distance up into the forest country to the head of the delta, but the larger portion of the Mackenzie Eskimo were on the east coast of Richard Island and on the mainland coast opposite and eastward, thence to the Baillie Islands and beyond. Curiously enough, a large number of these people were known to their immediate neighbors by the name of a village which, for a century at least, has been uninhabited. Kupuk was located on the east coast on Richard Island and was a place favorable for the killing of white whales in summer, but the shifting current of the river made the whaling grounds too shallow and the people had to move across to the mainland to the neighborhood of the present large village of Kittegaryuit, which was the largest of all the Eskimo villages of the Mackenzie section and possibly of all Arctic North America until the great measles epidemic of 1900, when the few remnants got the idea that the site was an unlucky one and moved away. Richardson tells us that from this village alone about two hundred kayaks came out and followed his boats as he was passing. We know that during the white whale season kayaks were used only by the able-bodied hunters so this will show that the population of the Kittegaryuit village alone must have been somewhere between eight hundred and one thousand people. It was not true that the other villages on the coast were all depopulated and their people gathered at Kittegaryuit for the white whale hunt. No doubt a few individuals from the nearest village did so, but the people of the Eskimo Lakes inland were at that season hunting ca-

bou and the people of Point Atkinson told me that they never took part in the Kittegaryuit hunt.

There seem to have been many villages of considerable size east of Kittegaryuit, but the biggest of them next to that of the Baillie Islands was Nuvorak (Point Atkinson), and eventually it became the only inhabited village between Baillie Island and the Mackenzie Delta proper, and even it is uninhabited since the epidemic of 1900, or was so, until the winter of 1911-1912 when a trading schooner anchored there."

2: Stefansson--25 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 172

"There is little doubt that there was a continuous chain of habitations prior to say 1830, all the way east along the coast from Langton Bay to Coronation Gulf, and from the character of the archaeological remains, we are inclined to think that these people resembled in culture those of the Baillie Islands more than they did those of Coronation Gulf. However, there seems to have been a feeling at the Baillie Islands that the people east of Langton Bay were not their people, while those of Langton Bay were, and when the changing trade conditions and other reasons broke the continuity of habitation along the coast (about 1840), most of the people of Langton Bay moved west to the Baillie Islands, while some of Langton Bay and apparently all east of them, moved east towards Coronation Gulf if indeed they were not exterminated by some famine consequent upon an untoward season. There were evidently permanent villages as far east, at least, as the mouth of Crocker River, and clearly bowhead whaling was one of the chief occupations. Even beyond Crocker River closer investigation is likely to show the existence of permanent earth and wood dwellings."

2: Stefansson--25 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 221

"Formerly the people whom we call Baillie Islanders had a permanent village on one of the Baillie Islands which they called Avvak. Since the whaling ships began to come in and winter in this vicinity, the dwelling site was removed to a sandspit on the mainland of Cape Bathurst, called Utkalluk. In the autumn both the people of Cape Bathurst east of Liverpool Bay, Nuvorak, and other places west of it, used to go to the head of the Bay in the fall for the caribou hunt and used to spend the early part of the winter there fishing; but apparently the entire population moved out to one of the promontories for sealing purposes about the middle of winter. East of the Baillie Islands were several villages between that and Langton Bay, which was known as Nuvuayuk from the sandspit on which the village was located, and behind which whaling ships have wintered in recent years."

2: Stefansson--25-26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 341

"The Copper Eskimo do not seem ever to have had any permanent houses, so far as we could ascertain from spending the summer in the neighborhood of the Coppermine and from making inquiries from the oldest men. In looking for a characteristic by which to differentiate the eastern from the western Eskimo, it may be difficult to find a better one than this, that the westerners built permanent dwellings of earth and wood while the easterners used only skin tents and snowhouses. If it shall be found, as I suspect, that the distribution of the larger western sled will coincide archaeologically [26] approximately with the area of earth and wood houses, and the long eastern sled with that of the absence of house ruins, these two features will differentiate the two regions with some clearness. So far as we know the big skin boat or umiak was also a characteristic of the western section and absent in the eastern, at least within the last century!"

2: Stefansson--26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo'
116, 291

"This section [JMR: i.e., Akuliakattak Lake] is less well supplied with caribou than most other districts of the Copper Eskimo; consequently, the people live to some extent on fishing in the lake and are forced to purchase some of the skins they need for clothing from other tribes, chiefly in exchange for articles of wood. On account of this scarcity of caribou the Akuliakattagmiut use more sealskin for garments than do other tribes and are in general less satisfactorily dressed."

2: Stefansson--26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 101

"The Akuliakattagmiut are to be found usually in the late autumn and early winter encamped on the shore of Cape Bexley. This is a trading rendezvous where there come to visit them most or all of the Haneragmiut, a considerable number of the Puiplirmiut and the Noahonirmiut and a sprinkling from other tribes as far removed as the Ekalluktogmiut of the east coast of Victoria Island. Shortly before or after the winter solstice the Akuliakattagmiut move out on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait for sealing purposes and about the same time the visitors begin to return, each party to its own tribe. Between the tenth and the last of May they will move ashore near Cape Bexley where they cache their stores or seal blubber as well as their spare clothing and household gear, and move inland two or three days' journey south to Akuliakattak Lake, which is said to be the head of Rae River."

2: Stefansson--26 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"The Noahonirmiut hunt in winter on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait in the neighborhood of Liston and Sutton Islands and spend the summer in general on the mainland south of those islands and north of Rae River. This is perhaps the smallest of the recognized subdivisions of the Copper Eskimo on the mainland. Their number is about twenty.

South of the Noahonirmiut in summer are found the Kanianermiut, so called because they inhabit the headwaters (Kangia) of the Pallirk which is their name for the Rae River. These people are also sometimes called the Uallirgmiut. In winter most of these seem to be out on the ice of Coronation Gulf. This is rather an indefinite subdivision sometimes confused with the Pallirmiut proper. The number may be about thirty."

2: Stefansson--27 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"The Kogluktualugmiut are the people who frequent the neighborhood of Tree River (Kogluktualuk). They are also called Utkusiksaligmiut, the dwellers of the place where there is pot stone.... The population is about forty. This is the most easterly tribe actually visited by us on their own hunting grounds, though we saw and talked with individuals of other tribes as far east as the Kent Peninsula."

2: Stefansson--27-28 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"Kogluktuaryumiut are in winter on the ice off Gray Bay. In spring they fish at the mouth of the Kogluktuaryuk River where Hanbury found some of them in July, 1903. This is the most westerly tribe seen by Hanbury on [28] his journey with the exception that he saw one family of the Pallirmiut on Dismal Lake. The population is probably about fifty or sixty."

2: Stefansson--28 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 361

"We have never ourselves seen permanent villages or permanent dwellings among the Copper Eskimo, but we were told that Umingmuktok [JMR: on the west coast of Kent Peninsula] was inhabited the year around."

2: Stefansson--28-29 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 101, 221

"We have given roughly the summer location of all the mainland coastal tribes so far as it is known to us, but one district is peculiar in that it is occupied by representatives of a dozen or more tribes. This is the summer hunting district enclosed by a quadrangle formed by the Coppermine River [29] on the east, Great Bear Lake on the south, Dease River on the west, and Dismal Lake and Kendall River on the north. Among two hundred or so people who visited this district and with whom we hunted the summer of 1910, there were representatives of all the mainland tribes from Cape Bexley to the Kent Peninsula as well as the Puiplirmiut and Nagyuktogmiut of Victoria Island."

2: Stefansson--29 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173, 731

"In naming the island people we must begin with Banks Island, for it is still inhabited in its southern portion in winter and all of it seems to have been inhabited until comparatively recent years. We were told by the old men of the Kanhiryuarmiut that so far as they knew, all Banks Island was inhabited formerly and the people were very prosperous. They are said to have killed so many musk-oxen and caribou in summer that they usually had plenty of dry meat to take them through the winter. However, famines began to occur now and then, due the Victoria Island people say, to the enmity of a powerful Victoria Island shaman who by his spells caused all the food animals to leave Banks Island and its neighboring waters. Finally, the last of these people are said to have died of hunger at a time when men now apparently less than thirty years of age were small boys. On Victoria Island north of Minto Inlet there was also a numerous population known as the Ugyuligimiut. This is also attested by the English explorers Collinson and M'Clure, whose maps are labeled 'numerous Esquimaux parties" in the district north of Minto Inlet. There is a belief among the Victoria Islanders today that these Ugyuligmiut murdered some white men belonging to the exploring ships and that the white men in revenge shot them down, exterminating them to the last man. This is supposed to have happened in the lifetime of the oldest of the Victoria Islanders, a man named Pamiungittok, who at the age of six years visited Collinson's ship in Walker Bay. Pamiungittok said, however, that he had never heard of any eye-witnesses to the shooting of the Ugyuligmiut by the white men and he said it was quite possible that they might

have grown up 'as such stories do.' However, all the Victoria Islanders agree that at present there are no living representatives of the Ugyuligmiut."

2: Stefansson--29-30 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173, 101

"The north coast of Victoria Island east of Collinson Inlet and the east coast north of its middle are supposed to be uninhabited and to have always been so. Collinson Inlet has been visited occasionally by many members of the Kanhiryuarmiut tribe still living, and they have never seen other signs of human habitation than those which they believe to be the traces of the earlier visits of their own people.

Coming to the tribes still in existence, the Kanhiryuarmiut are the most westerly although they draw their name from Prince Albert Sound [30] (Kanghiryuak). They live in winter, most of them, on the southeast coast of Banks Island between Nelson Head and De Salis Bay, where in contradistinction to most other Eskimo tribes they depend for food chiefly on polar bears. A few, however, spend an occasional winter on the southwest corner of Victoria Island near Cape Baring. Two families did so the winter of 1910-1911."

2: Stefansson--30 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 161, 221

"Late in March or early in April in each year....[JMR: i.e., the Kanhiryuarmiut] commence their eastward migrations crossing the straits to Prince Albert Sound and moving east along the middle of the Sound. We found them to be approximately in the geographical center of the Sound on May 13, 1911, and it is probable that their migrations pass this point at the same time each year. In Prince Albert Sound the parties divide. In the summer of 1911, none of them were going south into the Colville Mountains, although certain years a few of them are in the habit of going there to meet the Hanerag-miut. Six or seven families were going north into the mountains between Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet; a larger party still, were going southeast from the foot of the Sound to meet the Puiplirmiut and another good-sized party were going northeast from the foot of the Sound, location about forty miles inland, where native copper is most abundant and can most easily be had for the manufacture of knives, missile points, needles, and other articles. But the largest party of all, were going east up the Kag-loryuak River to meet the Ekalluktogmiut near the center of Victoria Island. The popu-lation of this group is two hundred or a little over. When they were all together in the spring of 1910 they occupied thirty-three dwellings, as we learned from the examination of one of their deserted villages. When we visited them, six families had already sep-arated themselves from the main body."

2: Stefansson--32 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 161

"The Nagyuktogmiut were the most easterly tribe of Victoria Islanders visited by us. They told us that the next tribe east of them were called the Kilusiktogmiut. I got no special idea of how numerous they are. I happened to see one or two members of the tribe among the Nagyuktogmiut, but in the press of other things I neglected the opportunity of making careful inquiries as to population. They told me, however, that so far as they knew, the entire south coast of Victoria Island was populated all the way around to Albert Edward Bay and in their opinion about as densely as that portion with which we were familiar. If that be so, it should mean from three to four hundred."

2: Stefanasson--33 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 101

"For convenience we have chosen to designate all the various Eskimo groups visited by us in the Coronation Gulf District as the Copper Eskimo. In the preceding discussion and again on the ethnographic map we have given the designations employed by the Eskimo themselves and indicated their conceptions of inter-relationship. In general the cultures of these groups seem to be similar and may be conveniently discussed under one head. Since one of the striking traits of this culture is the use of native copper, the term seems to us quite appropriate as the designation of the general culture group."

2: Stefansson--33 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173

"We found in the spring of 1910 when we first visited the Akuliakattagmiut and Haneragmiut, that they had place names for various points along the coast of the mainland running as far west as Cape Lyon, apparently. Several members of these tribes were pointed out to us as having had parents and ancestors that came from the west or habitually made journeys west. This merely corroborated what we already knew from the Baillie Islands Eskimo that there had been, probably up to about 1840, continuous tribe to tribe trade relations between the west and the Nagyuktogmiut. It was an interesting thing to find that while the westerners knew the easterners by the name of the Nagyuktogmiut tribe, which was but one of many, the easterners correspondingly knew the westerners by the name of Kupugmiut, which was but one of the western tribes and a distant one at that, although a numerous body and powerful locally. Similarly it is true that the Point Barrow people were familiar with the name of the Kupugmiut which they used for all the Mackenzie section whenever they did not employ the vague general term Kagmalit."

2: Stefansson--33 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 166

"This knowledge of place names to the west of Cape Bexley [JMR: i.e., to Cape Lyon] indicates that the Cape Bexley people [JMR: i.e., the Akuliakattagmiut and the Hanerag-miut] are familiar with a stretch of country about two hundred miles to the west of them. To the south, they as a tribe do not seem to be in the habit of going even as far as Dismal Lake. A few members of the tribe do go to Dismal Lake and beyond, but they apparently always do so by a circuitous route, going east into Coronation Gulf and joining one of the local tribes there such as the Kogluktogmiut and accompanying them to Dismal Lake and Great Bear Lake. We found that one family, at least, of the Akuliakattag-miut had been as far east as Tree River."

2: Stefansson--34 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 533

"We talked with one woman who had been a member of a party that spent the summer ....[JMR: i.e., at the Tree river] with the Utkusiksaligmiut in the making of pots and lamps; and one of the most popular songs at Cape Bexley was one composed by this woman to commemorate the journey. This song contains several geographic names and so formulates a sort of a record of the event. This woman seems to have been about fifteen or eighteen years of age when she made the journey and she is now about forty."

2: Stefansson--34 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 166, 484

"East beyond Tree River the knowledge of the Akuliakattagmiut is exceedingly vague, although they had heard of Umingmuktok (on Kent Peninsula). Like every other tribe, they knew of the Akilinik River. In fact, it seems that the Akilinik River is perhaps the most widely known locality of all places familiar to the Eskimo. In the Mackenzie district there are many tales of the Akilinik and so there are said to be in Greenland. Of course, it is not susceptible of absolute proof that the Akilinik of the stories can be invariably translated to mean the Akilinik River that flows into Chesterfield Inlet, for in the Mackenzie District and probably in Greenland, the people have no idea in which direction from them the Akilinik lies, but seeing that the district of the Akilinik draws to it today visitors from a thousand miles west and from great distances in all other directions, it seems that it may always have been as it is now, the greatest gathering center from a geographic point of view of the whole Eskimo race."

2: Stefansson--34 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 484

"That the travels of the Akuliakattagmiut and Haneragmiut to the east have not been very extensive is shown best by the fact that they had no idea of Victoria Island being an island. We found no one who knew that important fact until April, 1911, when we visited a village occupied chiefly by Nagyuktogmiut and Utkusiksaligmiut off the mouth of Tree River. Several men there knew that Victoria Island had an east coast also and was an island; in fact, they had heard so from their fathers."

2: Stefansson--35 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173

"It was a curious thing that some months later when in Prince Albert Sound I met two members of the Ekalluktogmiut tribe who live on the east coast of Victoria Island who declared that they had never heard of any ships being lost in their vicinity. These were, however, young men, and young men commonly pay very little attention to the stories told by their elders unless they be stories of a religious or miraculous nature. These men promised me that if they revisited their tribe they would make inquiries from the old men about these ships and would tell me if I were to return. The fact that all but one man among the Rae River Eskimo declared stoutly to me that no white man had ever come to Rae River, shows that no great dependence can be placed on negative testimony. Some of these men who denied knowledge of white visitors on Rae River were the sons of the old man Ekallukpik, who himself as a boy of six or eight had seen Richardson when he was ferried across the Rae River by the Eskimo in 1848. When later I asked Ekallukpik's sons how it happened before the eyes of their father, they replied that they no doubt had heard the story often, but had never paid any attention to it 'for,' they said, 'old men tell so many tales.' "

2: Stefansson--35 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
101, 116, 484

"We know that the people of the vicinity of the Coppermine often follow it in summer south beyond Kendall River, but then they generally come over to the west into the district between Dismal Lake and Bear Lake. We understood that when the people of Bathurst Inlet come to Great Bear Lake, they go well towards the head of the Inlet and then strike approximately straight west for the east end of Great Bear Lake. One group whom we met the summer of 1910 told us that they had come this route. How far south they sometimes go from the head of Bathurst Inlet we do not know, although the chances are that it will be a considerable distance (1).

"1. None of the Eskimo who habitually hunt to Bear Lake on McTavish Bay know that the Dease River flows into the same lake. In fact, they told us definitely that McTavish Bay was a large lake 'like the sea' whose name was Imaryuak; while Dease River, for which they have no name, flowed into a small lake which likewise has no name. As a matter of fact, what they consider two lakes are, of course, but two bays of Bear Lake."

2: Stefansson--34-35 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173

"These people were familiar with the fact of the loss of Franklin's vessels in the sea between King William Island and Victoria Island. I asked them whether they had ever heard of a ship being wrecked and white men dying on the east coast of Victoria Island. Had they answered either in the affirmative or negative simply, the thing might have meant little, for an Eskimo is likely to answer any leading question without much reference to the facts, merely thinking what answer is likely to please you best. But this man promptly replied that so far as they knew no ship had been wrecked on the east coast, but that about the time when they were born two ships had become fast in the [35] ice well off shore and that they had been abandoned by their white crews many of whom they knew had starved to death and think that it was likely that all of them had."

2: Stefansson--37 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 484, 177

"It is natural that the Haneragmiut, on account of their extensive travels, are better informed of distant places than are any of the other tribes. It is not only that they have seen more places themselves, but by extensive travels and much association with strangers they have acquired a perspective and broadmindedness lacking in other districts. I secured from them accordingly, chiefly from the man Hitkoak mentioned above, a good deal of geographic information about distant places to the east and northeast most of which is more conveniently embodied in a map than in a set discussion.

Hitkoak's information seemed fairly definite and correct as far east as King William Island. He told me that there lived the Netjiligmiut. He had heard that they were just ordinary Eskimo although they had many disagreeable and cruel customs, but next east of them lived other people who differed from ordinary human beings in having no chins; in other words, their necks come straight down from the face to the breast. Beyond these he said lived the Kablunat of whom he had heard many strange stories. These he admitted were not, however, borne out at all by his own experience with Hanbury whom he had found very different from the traditional description of the white men who lived east of King William Island. It was also true he said, that the old men who visited Collinson on his ship had found him and his men to be very similar to Hanbury and not very different from Eskimo in general."

2: Stefansson--38-39 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 173

"In May, 1911, I learned from the old man, Pamiungittok of the Kanhiryuarmiut, that he is the only man living who saw either Collinson or M'Clure. He was aboard of Collinson's vessel with his father in 1852 in Walker Bay when he was a boy of six or eight. At that time as now, members of the Kanhiryuarmiut tribe but rarely went any distance north of Minto Inlet, although they associated freely with the Uyuligmiut (now extinct as elsewhere related) who occupies the narrow part of Prince of Wales Straits on the west end of Victoria Island. A few years after this visit to Collinson some of the Banks Island people (now also extinct) discovered M'Clure's abandoned ship in the Bay of Mercy on north Banks Island and passed the information on to the Kanhiryuarmiut who made a trip up there immediately for the purpose of securing iron and wood from the ship itself and from the stores which had been carried ashore by M'Clure's men before they abandoned the 'Investigator.' The iron was of priceless value but there was so much of it that the people could not carry it all away and as they did not have the fore-thought to suitably protect it from the weather, much of it was destroyed by rust during the next decade or two, although many parties of Eskimo from various directions went up there to help themselves. The wood was of little use because it was mostly hardwood with the working of which the Eskimo are unfamiliar. The only desirable wood they found, Pamiungittok said, was the packing cases around the various kinds of goods. They accordingly broke these cases open, threw the contents away and used the boards for shafts of arrows and things of that kind. The hard wood Pamiungittok pointed out, was

almost as hard and difficult to work as caribou antler without being nearly so strong, and consequently they had no use for it. There were many barrels filled with strange liquids (among other things probably brandy and rum, large quantities of which were cached on shore by M'Clure), but the hoops of some of these barrels were of excellent iron and were removed by the people while the contents as well as the barrel staves were of no use.

The last visit paid by the Kanhiryuarmiut to the Bay of Mercy was at [39] a time when Pamiungittok's son, Aglervittok, was a boy of about ten years or as Pamiungittok said, when he was big enough to walk all day behind the sled and to shoot ptarmigan; he was not big enough to hunt caribou. Aglervittok appears to be about twenty-five years of age although he may be thirty. It is therefore from fifteen to twenty years since this last visit. At that time there was nothing left of the iron of the 'Investigator' except some big pieces that were so unwieldy they could not be handled by the Eskimo. The ship had long ago disappeared. Pamiungittok did not know how the break-up took place or when, but it was not very long after she was first discovered by the Eskimo."

"It is not very many years, however, since some parties of the Kanhiryuarmiut must have spent a part of the summer in Banks Island. We did not learn this from them, however.

The Eskimo, Ilavinirk, who worked for our party was one of four Eskimo who some years ago purchased the schooner 'Penelope'. They owned her and sailed her for many years and on one of their voyages they anchored off Cape Kellett on the southwest corner of Banks Island and went ashore to hunt. In more than one place on the land they found recent traces of Eskimo occupation, such as bones of animals that had been eaten and the remains of fires where cooking had been done. According to our present knowledge, we infer that these people must have been members of either the Kanhiryuarmiut or Kanghiryuatjiagmiut."

2: Stefansson--39 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 136, 221

"At present no people occupy Banks Island in summer although it is known to be fairly well stocked with both musk-oxen and caribou. The caribou, however, are not in such vast numbers here as in Victoria Island, which is filled by the migrations coming from the mainland in the spring although there are few if any caribou there in winter. Banks Island, however, has caribou the year around, for they do not seem to migrate across Prince of Wales Strait to any extent."

2: Stefansson--39 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133

"Ship's timbers and pieces of wreckage which they recognize as belonging to the 'Investigator' have been found in Prince of Wales Strait at various points north of Ramsey Island. This shows not only the fact that the vessel has been broken up, which is not particularly interesting as it could have been surely predicted, but also the more interesting thing that the winds or currents, or both, in this section are such as to bring drift materials down from the north into Prince of Wales Strait. From the scarcity of driftwood on the south coast of Banks Island and Victoria Island and from its abundance in Prince of Wales Strait, as described by both the English navigators, it seems probable that this wood must have passed from the Mackenzie River north along the west coast of Banks Island and east around its north end."

2: Stefansson--39-40 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 101

"Because the Kanghiryuatjiagmiut winter with the Kahiryuarmiut annually and families of either tribe may join the other at any time, we can consider that the range of these [40] two tribes is practically the same, although the more northerly tribe has for its particular hunting ground the country north and east of Minto Inlet."

2: Stefansson--40-41 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 132

"There are some rather astonishing differences in climate within the comparatively restricted district occupied by the Copper Eskimo. Dr. Anderson found, for instance, in the first week of May, 1911, that the rivers were already opened and mosquitoes on the wing on the southward slope between Dismal Lake and Great Bear Lake. The same year the last days of April and the first days of May we had the first thaws at the mouth of the Kugaryuak, eighteen miles east of the Coppermine. The morning of the second day of May we arrived at the village of the Noahonirmiut near Lambert Island. When we arrived the houses were all of snow, but that was the first warm day and by the middle of the afternoon most of the snow roofs had caved in on account of the heat of the sun and had been replaced by roofs of skin. Going north from Lambert Island we found a week later on Forsyth Bay at the northeast corner of Simpson Bay, houses that were still all of snow. In other words, although we were traveling slowly and halting frequently, we were still moving north at a pace that was leaving the summer farther and farther behind us. We went across the Wollaston Peninsula into Prince Albert Sound and spent more than a week visiting the people there; then we went west along the sound and south to Bell Island near the southwest corner of Victoria Island. The snow on Bell Island showed plainly that there had been no thaw as yet, for even a slight thaw is bound to leave a trace by turning to ice some of the snow on the southward faces of the cliffs. The first thaw came on May twenty-sixth when we had been two days in camp at Bell Island. In the afternoon of that day we started southwest across Dolphin

and Union strait and landed four days later just west of the mouth of Crocker River. When we left Victoria Island the snow had lain soft and white as in midwinter; when we got half way across the straits, puddles of water began to appear here and there on the ice and the last ten or fifteen miles before reaching the mainland the sea ice was honeycombed by the sun and we waded in many places knee deep through puddles on the ice. There were open cracks near the shore across which we had to ferry our sled and when we got to the land we found it bare of snow except that a few deep drifts still remained in the shadow of cliffs and cutbanks. In going southwest sixty miles we had found as great a change of weather and ice conditions as could possibly have been brought about on southwest Victoria Island by a month of spring weather. In other words, [41] there is a difference of a month apparently in the climate of southwest Victoria Island and of that of the mainland sixty miles south."

2: Stefansson--41 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 132

"The fall of 1910, the caribou migration crossing Coronation Gulf from the north began November ninth, which seems to indicate that the ice had not been strong enough to carry the animals until a day or two before this time, for it is the universal Eskimo account that the animals are found on the south coast of the land each fall waiting for the ice to form. One would infer that this is the case and there is no reason to doubt it; besides the statement is corroborated by Collinson's observations at Cambridge Bay on southeast Victoria Island in 1851. On Coronation Gulf it was the second week in October before the rivers could be crossed at any places except those of nearly current-less water. In September, 1910, the snow fell more than once to clear away again. There was a medium heavy fall of snow, September nineteenth, however, which re-mained on the ground for about ten days but had practically disappeared by the end of the month and it was the tenth of October before even the quieter places on the Dease River were frozen, while on November eighth when we set out from the mouth of Dease River for our crossing of the Barren Grounds northwest of Langton Bay, Bear Lake was frozen only around the edges and open water could be seen a few miles out. When we reached the height of land north of Great Bear Lake, however, and commenced the descent of the Arctic slope, it seemed to us again as if we had in the space of two or three days gone a month farther into the winter."

2: Stefansson--41-42
116, 132

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"It is difficult without the maintenance of a permanent meteorological station to say definitely about the prevailing winds in summer, but in winter it is an easy matter, for the snowdrifts form a permanent record of the trend of the stronger and more frequent winds. We know, therefore, that in Coronation Gulf and on Dolphin and Union Strait and in Prince Albert Sound the prevailing winds are from the northwest approximately, while the winds next in frequency and force are approximately from the southeast, or from between southeast and east so that there is an angle of perhaps ten or fifteen degrees between the snowdrifts formed by the opposing winds. One result of the strength and frequency of the northwest winds is that driftwood is driven chiefly upon beaches that face that wind while beaches lying parallel to the wind or in such a way that the wind blows off the land are less well supplied with driftwood, or not at all. Accordingly, we have a [42] comparative plenty of drift sticks along the mainland shore as far east as Liston Island, while there is little on the opposite shore of Victoria Island. Similarly there is considerable driftwood along the south coast of Prince Albert Sound and very little along the north coast. The record for the whole year is therefore complete for the driftwood deposited in summer tells the same story as the snowdrifts in winter with reference to the prevalence of the northwest wind.

We found the summer of 1910 that inland one hundred miles or so south of Coronation

Gulf there is very little rain and the sun shines down from a cloudless sky often for many days and nights in succession. The result is that the temperature rises to a height which one would not suspect could prevail north of the Arctic Circle. We did not have a thermometer with us, but all of us felt that the heat was intense and difficult to bear and I suppose that at times it rose to well over 90° in the sun and probably approached 80° in the shade. In September, however, the climate changed suddenly and both the Eskimo and the Bear Lake Slavey Indians said that this was the ordinary case. Fogs and drizzling rains became prevalent and days of sunshine were comparatively rare.

On the seacoast the presence of floating ice at no great distance from land has a considerable effect on the climate farther west, but in the comparatively narrow and enclosed waters the quantities of ice are not so large and although the seacoast of Coronation Gulf is said by the Eskimo to be more rainy and foggy than the interior, still it is no doubt less foggy and rainy and probably considerably warmer than the coast of the open ocean farther west."

2: Stefansson--42-43 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 137

"DRIFTWOOD

"As pointed out above in the discussion of the prevailing winds, those coasts west of Coronation Gulf which face north are better supplied than the southward facing coasts. Coming east from Cape Lyon we found the driftwood gradually diminishing as we went east, but not nearly so fast as we had expected. Logs of considerable size clearly derived from the Mackenzie River are numerous well beyond Inman River, but when we come as far east as Cape Bexley mostly broken sticks are found and it would be difficult to get together on a small stretch of beach large logs of considerable size such as would be needed, for instance, for the construction of a log house. The beaches, however, are mostly composed of broken rock and for that reason all the wood there is dry and has been preserved from rotting. There is no doubt that if the Eskimo of this country are ever taught the use of sheet iron stoves as the Western Eskimo have been, the supplies of wood [43] which now are sufficient so that a traveling party can camp almost anywhere and find enough for fuel, will disappear in a few years and it will be found then that the replenishing will be a slow process for the piles of driftwood that make such a brave showing now have clearly been gathering here for centuries."

2: Stefansson--43 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133

"In Coronation Gulf itself there is comparatively little driftwood and most of it derived from the Coppermine River, doubtless. The Coppermine does not bring out much wood commonly, for although it flows through well-forested country, it is a country of solid rock in general, the erosion is slight and it is only in a few places that the river meanders over flat, wooded, bottom lands. It is no doubt on account of the prevailing northwesterly winds that we found much less wood on the west shore of Coronation Gulf than on its south shore, and it seemed to us that there was rather more wood on the island chain that runs east from near the mouth of the Coppermine than on the mainland itself. No doubt a party journeying by boat in summer will find no fuel difficulties, but while the snow was deep in winter we used to keep an eye open all day for any stick we might see and by that means we used to get together enough in a day to furnish fuel for camping at night.

On one of the islands, however, we saw a large log of cottonwood. The chances are that this stick came from the Mackenzie River; surely it could not be of local origin in Coronation Gulf. While it is clear that there is no steady and uninterrupted eastward current sweeping from Beaufort Sea into Coronation Gulf it seems that the prevailing trend of the currents must be more easterly than westerly or else how could this stick get to where we found it. There might well be a current from the west into the Gulf, however, without much driftwood coming in, for the northwesterly wind would naturally drive it ashore in the narrow straits. The course of a drifting stick is evidently a

resultant of two forces, the one exerted by the current, the other by the wind."

2: Stefansson--43-44 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 133

"The Eskimo told us that a few years ago they had found a stranded bowhead whale on one of the islands of Coronation Gulf and in it they had found what must have been a brass whaling iron. This whale must clearly have been shot by the whaling ships in Beaufort Sea and its carcass may have [44] been transported to Coronation Gulf by the currents and winds. It is, on the other hand, possible that the animal may have been merely wounded and may have made its way into Coronation Gulf before it died."

2: Stefansson--44-45 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 137

"In many of the river valleys of Alaska and of the neighborhood of the Mackenzie, there is a growth of very heavy willows which serves the natives for fuel. This is not so general in the district of the Copper Eskimo. Small willows are found both on Banks Island and Victoria Island, but there seems to be only one place in Victoria Island where the willows attain a considerable growth. This is the valley of the Kagloryuak River which falls into the east end of Prince Albert Sound. We did not see these willows, but we were told that what there were of them, grew crooked and never stood quite as high as a man's head.

In the valley of the Coppermine the growth of willows is very small north of the tree line, and on Dismal Lake where there are trees both at the east and the west ends of the lake, the middle section of the lake shore is supplied with willows that are only of a size corresponding with the descriptions we have from Victoria Island.

In ascending the Coppermine, the first week of June, 1910, we found a dozen shoots of spruce not more than three or four feet high growing a mile and a half north of Bloody Fall, or not over four miles from the ocean in a direct line. It may be considered, however, that the tree line of the Coppermine is, as measured along the river, nine or ten miles south of Bloody Fall, or in an air line, perhaps fifteen miles from the ocean. Just east of the Coppermine there is, however, a small patch of trees on the head of a little creek. These trees are no more than seven or eight miles from the

ocean. As one proceeds up the Coppermine, trees appear in irregular patches not so much in the valley of the river itself as in the valleys of its tributaries, [sic] Along the east side of the river we found that north of the mouth of the Kendall, the spruce nowhere extends more than about ten miles up any of these creek beds, and on the west so far as we could judge by looking across from hill tops with our field glasses, the woods are even more closely confined to the river. Just north of the mouth of the Kendall we crossed from the east to the west bank and found that not only is the Kendall Valley itself densely wooded all the way to Dismal Lake, but the higher lands to the north of it are also banked with scattered groves of spruce. Dismal Lake is about thirty-six miles long and is curved as shown on Hanbury's map and not a chain of lakes as described by Dease and Simpson and shown on most of our [45] maps and charts. There is considerable growth of spruce around the east end of the lake for the first five or six miles from its outlet, and then for about thirty miles it is flanked on either hand by Barren Ground, but there is a dense grove of trees at a creek mouth at the southwest end of the lake. Crossing here and descending south into the valley of the Dease, it is only a matter of a mile or so from trees on Dismal Lake to the trees of the Dease Valley which run continuously down to the northeast corner of Bear Lake.

South of Dismal Lake there is, however, what amounts to an island of Barren Ground surrounded as it is by the woods of Dismal Lake, Dease River, Great Bear Lake, and the Coppermine. It is on the high hill tops of this rocky section, that the Eskimo chiefly

camp in summer.

It is commonly supposed, no doubt from the knowledge of Greenland, that most of the Arctic Islands are covered with an ice cap. This is so far from being true that so far as I know, there is not a vestige of a glacier anywhere either in Victoria or Banks Island and they are everywhere covered with green grass and flowers, except in districts that are too rocky for plant growth."

2: Stefansson--45-46 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 372, 252

"The most important item of fuel among the Copper Eskimo is, of course, the blubber of the seal. Except in special emergencies this is the only article of fuel used in winter in Victoria Island or on the mainland, although the Kanhiryuarmiut on southeast Banks Island use also the fat of the polar bear to some extent. It makes little difference whether driftwood is abundant or scarce in any district, it is never used during the part of the year when people live in snowhouses. It would manifestly be unsuited for the heating of a snowhouse and as a matter of fact, as I know from experience, the seal oil lamp is better suited for the heating of any kind of a substantially built Eskimo house than wood is, even when burned in sheet iron stoves. But in the spring when the snowhouse is discarded for the tent and the people move from the sea ice inland to hunt, the supplies of oil are all left behind at the coast and either wood or heather is used. Among the Noahonirmiut, for instance, we found in the latter part of May, 1910, that families living six or eight miles from the seacoast had taken with them two or three sticks of wood equivalent to as many stout cord wood sticks and these they were eking out for cooking purposes. The man of the family would take an adze and with it make fine chips or shavings which the woman would feed one by one into a tiny flame built under the bottom of the pot. In this way a very small piece of wood could bring a good-sized pot of meat to a [46] boil. When this was done they intended, they told us, to find heather (Cassiope tetragona) underneath the snow and use that for fuel. Later, when the sun had cleared the snow away, it would, of course, be easy to find the heather

which is the favorite fuel of the Copper Eskimo.

The Eskimo of my party were all westerners and used to cooking with driftwood or willows. When during the summer of 1910 we traveled around with parties of the Copper Eskimo, my companions insisted that they were not going to cook with 'grass.' They seemed to look upon the very idea as degrading in some way; and would scout around in search of bushes of willow which they maintained would make a much more satisfactory fire. The result was that our local traveling companions would have their camp pitched and supper cooked before we got our fire lit and proceedings in our camp were usually suspended while we went over and joined them in their supper inviting them later on to come and share ours which was ready an hour or so later. Towards the end of the summer my westerners had finally become convinced that the use of grass was really not necessarily degrading, with the result that we could get our meals as quickly as the natives.

There is a special art about burning heather. You must make a small fire and feed in a handful at a time, keeping the blaze uniform. In most Arctic districts where I have traveled, you cannot walk half a mile without finding a patch of heather big enough to cook several meals by. You build the fire in the proper place and within ten or fifteen feet of it you can gather sufficient fuel for cooking. We found it convenient to carry a small stick of dry wood with which to make shavings to start the fire on damp days, for

when it is wet the heather is not easy to light, but with the fire once going there is no more trouble about it.

The Bear Lake Indians are unfamiliar with the use of heather for fuel, which greatly handicaps them on their annual incursions into the Barren Ground in search of musk-oxen. Like my western Eskimo companions they understand the use of willows, but on the Barren Ground, patches of these are few and far between and quickly hidden beyond chance of discovery by the blizzards of early winter. Consequently the Indians on their musk-ox hunts carry sled-loads of wood which burden them and decrease their speed. When the wood has been exhausted the party retreats towards the forests of Bear Lake again. The local Eskimo are under no such handicap. Even in the depths of winter, they could always find heather to burn, as the Back River people do in fact, as we know from hearsay. The Eskimo with whom we personally associated never leave the sea ice in winter and consequently have no occasion for any fuel except oil."

2: Stefansson--47
116, 262, 174

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"The Eskimo of Alaska from Kotzebue Sound along the coast depend to some extent on vegetable foods, not only in summer while these are growing and can be gathered for immediate use, but also in winter when the people draw on stores gathered in summer. The Mackenzie district is as well supplied as some Alaskan localities with edible vegetables, but very little attention is paid, or was, until a few years ago when Alaskan immigrants began to teach them the use of berries, leaves, and roots. The summer hunting districts of the Coronation Gulf Eskimo, too, are rich in vegetable foods, but the knowledge of their use is on an even lower level than in the Mackenzie Delta. That proximity to the vegetable-eating Indians of Alaska and not the richness of any given district determines the amount and variety of vegetables used, is one of the many reasons for thinking that the Arctic coast population did not come to their present home down the Mackenzie or from the Yukon. Had they come from a district rich in vegetables to a district rich in the same vegetables they would not have forgotten their use."

2: Stefansson--47-48 (1908-12) 1914) Copper Eskimo
116, 262

"Vegetable Foods. The Eskimo of Alaska from Kotzebue Sound south along the coast depend to some extent on vegetable foods, not only in summer while these are growing and can be gathered for immediate use, but also in winter when the people draw on stores gathered in summer. The Mackenzie district is as well supplied as some Alaskan localities with edible vegetables, but very little attention is paid, or was, until a few years ago when Alaskan immigrants began to teach them the use of berries, leaves, and roots. The summer hunting districts of the Coronation Gulf Eskimo, too, are rich in vegetable foods, but the knowledge of their use is on an even lower level than in the Mackenzie Delta. That proximity to the vegetable-eating Indians of Alaska and not the richness of any given district determines the amount and variety of vegetables used, is one of the many reasons for thinking that the Arctic coast population did not come to their present home down the Mackenzie or from the Yukon. Had they come from a district rich in vegetables to a district rich in the same vegetables they would not have forgotten their use.

Berries known as paunrat are eaten by all the Copper Eskimo, and a few other sorts are occasionally tasted. The most substantial and palatable fruit found on the Arctic coast is the akpek (salmon berry). This grows abundantly on the summer hunting grounds of the Coronation Gulf tribes and is sure to be found also on Bathurst Inlet. Its use, however, was never discovered in this locality, though the name seemed to be

known. It was the natives of our own party who first induced trial of these berries, and only a few of even those who spent most of the summer of 1910 near us acquired a taste for them. So far as we could learn the akpek was under no taboo, it simply had never occurred to anyone that they were food.

The one vegetable of some importance among the Copper Eskimo is the root known to them as mahu (Alaskan, masu). These can be dug for food at any season, though it is difficult to find them in winter under the snow. In summer they are eaten chiefly in times of scarcity, but occasionally from choice.

The mahu (Polygonum bistortum) is a parsnip-like root. Large specimens may be half an inch in diameter and ten or more inches long. They sometimes fork into two or more branches. They seem of better flavor and less 'woody' if gathered from sandy soil. If boiled and then kept in bags, as is the custom in Alaska, there develops an agreeable mild acid flavor and the roots become excellent eating to the taste of most white men. The Copper Eskimo never keep the roots to sour, but eat them from hand to mouth, either raw or boiled. [48]

Probably because of greater abundance of other foods, these roots are less used in the Mackenzie Delta than even in Victoria Island. They are abundant on the rivers flowing into the foot of Prince Albert Sound, and are said to be fairly common, too, in certain parts of Banks Island.

Reindeer moss is never gathered for food directly from the ground but is a highly relished dish when found in the paunch of a caribou. It is eaten warm with the warmth of the animal, or cold; preferably, however, the paunch is let lie in the sun several days till the contents begin to ferment. West of Cape Parry seal oil is poured over the soured mass, making a kind of salad; the Copper Eskimo, however, never take oil with them inland, and so far as we know do not have the opportunity of eating moss and oil together. No taboo would prevent their doing so, however, as land and sea foods are everywhere freely brought in contact as well as meat, vegetables (mahu), and oil.

Besides the undigested moss from the stomach, partly digested food from other portions of the alimentary canal is eaten. Among the Puiplirmiut especially, we saw deer droppings picked up from the snow and eaten directly; here they are also gathered in pails and kept in the house to be eaten as wanted. In Alaska caribou droppings are commonly used to thicken blood soup, or were, until white men's taboos began to restrain the practice. Some quantity of vegetables is also consumed through the eating of the stomachs and intestines of hares, marmots, and ptarmigan."

2: Stefansson--48 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 262

"Most of the Copper Eskimo depend chiefly on seals for food in winter. Fish are said to be caught at all seasons by the Ekalluktogmiut; the Kanhiryuarmiut secure a large number of bears in midwinter in southern Banks Island and all tribes secure stray foxes and wolves now and then. Musk-oxen are never hunted by the Kanhiryuarmiut in winter, but if a band wanders down to the coast between Nelson Head and De Salis Bay the opportunity is taken advantage of. We never heard of caribou being killed in winter either on the mainland or on the islands west of Bathurst Inlet. Among most of the tribes in question no taboo prevents caribou hunting at any season, so far as our questions could bring out; it simply has never been tried. Among half a dozen tribes I have myself been assisted by natives in caribou hunting on the sea ice, and I have seen caribou meat and seal meat eaten at the same meal by members of the following tribes: Nagyuktogmiut, Kohluktogmiut, Pallirmiut, Puiplirmiut, Noahonirmiut, Akuliakattagmiut, and Kanhiryuarmiut. Some families said, however, that caribou and seal meat should not be cooked in the same pot unless the pot were suspended over the lamp by a fresh cord when the caribou meat was to be cooked; but most people paid no attention to even this prohibition."

2: Stefansson--49 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"In bear hunting among the Kanhiryuarmiut two or more men usually hunt together. Sleds are not used, as for instance in Smith Sound and among other eastern Eskimo, but dogs loose or in leash accompany the hunter. When a bear is either accidentally met with or is found by the following of a fresh trail, the dogs are turned loose. They overtake the animal and hold it at bay by barking and by nipping its heels when it turns to run. On close approach it is then shot with arrows or speared with lances improvised by lashing the hunting knife (iron or copper) on the end of a long walking staff (aiaupiak) which Eskimo usually carry on their hunts, whether in winter or summer."

2: Stefansson--50 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 225

"There is but one sealing method in winter. All tribes of the Copper Eskimo, except those Kanhiryuarmiut who live on bears and those Ekalluktogmiut who live on fish, seek level stretches of ice on which to pitch their camps. So far as we know, the Kanhiryuarmiut are the only ones who ever build winter houses on land or even near land, but it is probable that the Ekalluktogmiut do also. These ice encampments are moved from time to time, for the seals within a five-mile radius of any spot are soon exterminated by the hunters. Seals in winter are necessarily non-migratory, as each depends for his supply of air to breathe on the hole in the ice which his own teeth have kept open in spite of the frost."

2: Stefansson--50-51 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 225

"Of a morning the various hunters start out from camp, usually before daylight, in directions radiating from the encampment. Each is followed by his dogs, one or more, but never over three, for a man who is wealthy enough to own three dogs is sure to have a grown son or a dependent who also goes sealing and needs a dog. The main business of the dog is to find a seal hole; secondarily, he is to drag home the seal if the hunt proves successful. The seal's breathing hole at the upper surface of the ice is but an inch or two in diameter; downwards it widens out, and has thus the shape of an inverted funnel. If it is the home of a female seal about to become a mother the mouth of the hole is enlarged sufficiently to allow the animal to crawl on top the ice and make a cave for herself in the hard snowbank above. But be the [51] seal male or female, be the hole small or large, there is nothing in the appearance of the snow roof above it to indicate its presence to the eye, unless indeed a wandering fox has smelt it out the night before and stopped above it to investigate, leaving its tracks to tell the story. Be a seal hole to windward a dog will smell it at a considerable distance; the finding of it is usually therefore the least of the hunter's troubles."

"When the general locality is discovered the position of the hole is accurately determined by prodding the snow with the caribou antler probe till its point slips into water instead of meeting the hard ice. If the snow roof is thick it is thinned down considerably by scraping away with the snow knife. When so thin that it is not likely to offer much resistance to a lance-thrust, the 'feeler' a slender bone or antler rod, is thrust down through the snow until its lower end is just below the surface of the water. When this is done the hunter cuts himself a block of snow for a seat, spreads a skin rug in front of it to keep his feet from the snow on the ice, and sits down by the hole to wait. The lance lies ready by his side.

The seal must come to the surface frequently to breathe, and the hunter's wait would therefore not prove a long one had the seal but one string to his bow. He has several. In the neighborhood of any seal hole there is a group of several others that have been made by and are used by the same seal. Though the hunter may have done his work so carefully that the seal's suspicions remain unaroused, yet mere chance may prevent for hours and even days his visiting the hole where the captor awaits him. It may happen therefore that the hunter sits from daylight till dark and from daylight to dark again, awaiting the sign of his quarry's approach. If fortune favors, however, the hunter may have his seal in half an hour.

When the seal rises to his hole to breathe his nose pushes upwards the slender 'feeler' that has been so arranged that its upward motion is unimpeded. The hunter rises

from his seat, which was so near that it is not necessary for him to step forward to be in a position to drive his lance vertically downward into the hole; if he needed to make a step forward the crunching of the snow under his foot would warn the animal of danger. When the indicator rod has been elevated as much as it can be, and just as it begins to fall the lance is driven down alongside it, usually striking the seal in its neck or shoulder. The thrust usually goes home; against a good hunter no more than one fluke in ten chances should be recorded.

When the seal has been speared the hole is enlarged with ice pick or knife sufficiently to allow the animal to be hauled out, this after its strength has been partly exhausted by its struggles. As it is about to be hauled out it is despatched by a stab in the head or, occasionally, by a blow on the head with a club. For killing the seal, among the Kanhiryuarmiut at least, a special instrument is used, this is described elsewhere. [52]

If the seal is of the common small kind, the man has little trouble holding him by the stout harpoon line and the hole is soon enlarged with the ice chisel and the animal hauled out on top of the ice. In the case of the gigantic bearded seal, however, the struggle is often severe, the line may break, the harpoon-head pull loose, or the hunter may have to let go. This latter seldom happens, for two reasons: it is considered a great disgrace to let go one's hold, and secondly, the harpoon point, especially if it be of iron,

is an article of great value and must not be lost. A single hunter may get, in this manner, three or four seals in a day, or, he may go a week without getting one."

2: Stefansson--52 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 136, 225

"The method of securing bearded seals is the same essentially as that employed against the common seal, except that two men occasionally join forces, for the animal is huge and powerful and difficult to hold after it is speared. Few bearded seals are secured in winter for they frequent chiefly shore waters, and the seal hunting tribes seldom approach land until towards spring. The stretch of strong current in Dolphin and Union Strait from Lambert Island east to Cape Krusenstern is richer in bearded seals than any other locality accessible to the Copper Eskimo. The ice here is never over two or three inches thick and the seals bask on the ice even in February with the temperature below -40° F. I have here counted over forty bearded seals visible with the naked eye from shore, as many as ten sometimes crawl up through one breathing hole."

2: Stefansson--52
116, 225, 231

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"When a seal has been caught, if the village be not far off, the hunter often sends the dog home dragging the seal by the harness which the hunting dog always wears, while he stays in the hope of getting another; if the village be far off (three to five miles) the seal is not taken home till evening. Some hunters, discounting success, will take along two or even three dogs, sending one dog home each time a seal is caught."

2: Stefansson--52 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 251, 185

"It is not common that more than a week's supply of meat accumulated in the village, but the supply of blubber steadily grows beyond what is needed for food and fuel, and often a family has seven to ten sealskins full of oil (fifteen hundred to three thousand pounds) to cache against the need of the next autumn, the period of scarcity."

2: Stefansson--52-54 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 731, 261

"Except among the Kanhiryuarmiut the winter from October to April is generally a hand to mouth struggle. Starvation may, and does, occur at any time, but generally the sunless days are most feared. There is seldom a winter that among one or another of the Copper tribes dogs do not die of [54] hunger; dried sinew and clothing are eaten and the houses are without light or fuel. Specific instances of deaths from hunger are detailed in another place."

2: Stefansson--54 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 225

"In April and early May seals are still the main food of the people and the methods of securing them remain what they were in winter. During this period the Kanhiryuarmiut move from Banks Island to Prince Albert Sound, Victoria Island, and the other tribes divide or move in single bodies towards either the mainland or the Victoria Island shore. The Akuliakattagmiut consider the appearance of the first seal on top of the ice in their locality (about May 20th) as a sign it is time to leave the sea for the fishing lakes. No member of this tribe or of the Haneragmiut, we were told ever tries crawling up to a basking seal in the manner familiar from many other Eskimo districts. Among the Puiplirmiut and Noahonirmiut (in portions of whose hunting districts seals bask on the ice even in winter) about one in three of the able hunters knows this method and uses it more or less. In Coronation Gulf again the method is not much used."

2: Stefansson--54 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"All tribes of the Copper Eskimo in April and May have their camps on ice across which the caribou migrate in thousands on their way north. None of these make any use of their opportunities so far as we could learn. Especially the Noahonirmiut near Lambert Island and the Kanhiryuarmiut on Prince Albert Sound see endless successions of small bands passing their very doors. As mentioned above, there seems no taboo on caribou killing or caribou meat at this season, but we were merely told 'nobody ever hunts caribou on the ice'--they live in abundance of sealmeat at this time and blubber gathering is their most important object. It would really be foolish for them to spend their time pursuing the skinny migrating cows, if they did they would have to face the winter without the store of blubber that is their salvation at the time of autumn scarcity!"

2: Stefansson--54 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 251, 185

"In April no starvation came to our notice, though we found a Puiplirmiut village on short rations May 6, 1911, in Simpson Bay, Victoria Island. These had plenty of blubber, however. Each family lays by at this season as much blubber as it can. This is cut in small pieces and placed in bags made by skinning a seal through the mouth. Each of these bags when filled with oil will weigh one hundred seventy-five to two hundred fifty pounds and one good hunter will fill two or three such bags during March, April and May. When it comes time to go inland these are placed en cache, preferably on a small island. Be the caches on an island these are covered with large stones so as to be safe from bears; people, it is said, never steal from such caches. At the same place are also cached usually the winter lamps, the heavier stone pots, the winter clothing and all good clothes, and in fact everything that is not absolutely needed for the summer. On account of taboo restrictions no blubber is taken along inland."

2: Stefansson--55 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Most people move inland while there is still snow on the ground; a few remain on the coast till the thaws are well under way, and some even stay on or near the coast all summer; notably certain of the Puiplirmiut in Simpson Bay, most of the Pallirmiut at the mouth of Rae River and some of the Kogluktogmiut at Bloody Fall on the Coppermine. Nothing is rigid about these arrangements;--the summer 1910, for instance, Bloody Fall was unoccupied."

2: Stefansson--55 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"Hares and ptarmigan are shot with bows and form part of the food supply in spring, summer, and fall."

2: Stefansson--55 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 136, 224

"The musk-ox plays no part in spring among any Victoria Island tribes directly known to us, nor among any people on the mainland much west of Gray Bay. About Gray Bay and east of it musk-oxen are more numerous and are said to come down towards the sea in the spring, but to what extent they are killed while the snow is still on the ground we do not know. The pursuit of these animals will assume new phases now that guns are about to be introduced in Coronation Gulf. It is said there are some musk-oxen east and north of Minto Inlet, Victoria Island, so the Kanhiryuatjiagmiut may get a few occasionally."

2: Stefansson--55
116, 136, 224

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"An important food animal in the mainland districts is the marmot (Spermophilus parrii). These awake from their winter hibernation in April and when they first come out of their holes they are rolling in fat and are excellent eating. Many are killed with bows and many are caught at the mouths of their holes with slip nooses of slender braided sinew. It is generally not difficult, except for large parties, to secure enough of these to feed men and dogs. Certain sections, especially rocky barrens, are largely wanting in squirrels, however, while others, such as the flats of Rae River and the lower twenty miles of the Coppermine, are abundantly supplied."

2: Stefansson--55 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"On May 7th, 1911, the first three families of the Puiplirmiut moved inland into Victoria Island from Simpson Bay. They expected to camp by some fishing lakes and to live mainly on fish till the ground should be bare of snow some three or four weeks later. They no doubt tried for caribou too; at any rate we found on May 24, 1910, that some Noahonirmiut had already begun deer hunting about fifteen miles southwest of Lambert Island. By May twenty-sixth, however, they had not themselves secured any caribou as yet, and had no food when we left them but the carcasses of two bucks that we shot just before leaving their neighborhood. The women of the party fished every day for small lake trout with their copper fish hooks and caught about half enough to feed the party. The Kanhiryuarmiut whom on May 19, 1911, we left still encamped on the ice in the middle of Prince Albert Sound expected to move inland in about two weeks and to live partly on fish when they got inland."

2; Stefansson--55-56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 136, 224

"It is only on Banks Island and southwestern Victoria Island that polar [56] bears are common at any season. A stray bear may find its way into Dolphin and Union Straits and Coronation Gulf, especially in the spring. One at least was killed by the Puiplirmiut in 1911. I have however, both among the Akuliakattagmiut and in Coronation Gulf, seen grown men who have never seen a live polar bear. Brown bears (Ursus arctos Richardsoni) are quite absent from Victoria Island but most mainland tribes kill one of them now and then, especially the Akuliakattagmiut. If found still in the stupor of hibernation they are easily despatched, but if awake (any time after the middle of April, or even sooner) they are more difficult game than polar bears. One or two good dogs will generally keep a polar bear at bay; it is seldom dogs can hold a barren ground bear. At close quarters, too, they are more dangerous than white bears both to men and dogs, and many a man bears the mark of their claws. They are however attacked single-handed, by hunters armed with only the bow and knife. We were told that the hunter sometimes pays for his venturesomeness with his life; of this, however, we learned no specific instance, though I saw among the Kogluktogmiut a man whose eye had been scratched out and who had been 'confined to the house' the larger part of the summer as a result of the mauling he got."

2: Stefansson--56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"In summer caribou are the chief source of food, although in certain districts fish, birds, and eggs, barren ground bears, and musk-oxen, play a more or less important part. Fishing is of most significance in early spring. When the first seals appear on top of the ice, about May fifteenth or May twentieth at Cape Bexley, the supply of blubber, the winter clothing, oil lamps, etc., are put in safe caches under heavy stones, usually on small islands, and the people move inland by sled, taking along a little seal oil (not nearly enough for all summer) and little other food. Individuals of some groups, such as the Pallirmiut, sometimes go inland only after the snow leaves the land, carrying packs instead of using sleds. A few people stay near the sea all summer, especially at the mouth of the Coppermine. Generally, the objective point with those who move inland early is a fishing lake that is also frequented by caribou and while the men hunt the women fish with hooks. As the hooks are not barbed they are seldom 'set'. Later, when the water courses become free of ice, fish are often speared at certain well-known spearing places. These spears are of the three-pronged Eskimo type with handles sometimes twenty feet long or longer. The barbs of these are usually of copper, though they may be of iron, bone, or antler.... Perhaps the most frequented spearing place is at Bloody Fall on the Coppermine. No fish nets or fish traps are used or known."

2: Stefansson--56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Generally the objective point with those who move inland early is a fishing lake that is also frequented by caribou and while the men hunt the women fish with hooks."

2: Stefansson--56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 251

"If fish are caught in large numbers [JMR: when they are fishing in early spring] they are often dried by being spread out on flat stones, hung up on deer antlers, etc., seldom on wooden racks, even when wood is available."

2: Stefansson--56 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"...the people move inland by sled, taking along a little seal oil (not nearly enough for all summer) and little other food. Individuals of some groups, such as the Pallirmiut, sometimes go inland only after the snow leaves the land, carrying packs instead of using sleds."

2: Stefansson--57 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"All the hunting practically is with the bow and arrow, either by simple stalking, or, by driving bands of deer towards concealed hunters. The first consists merely of approaching the deer to seventy-five yards or less by such methods as the character of the ground and the other special features of each case suggest. Just before sending the arrow, the hunter usually abandons all attempts at concealment and makes a sudden dash towards the caribou, thus usually getting fifteen or twenty yards nearer than was possible by stealth, for sometimes the animals will not at once notice a man running at them though upright at close range and even when they see him their minds seem to work slowly and it takes them a second or two of staring to make up their minds to run, and then they do not always run directly away, but as often as not at about right angles to the approach of the hunter. The first run is often, too, only a dash of a dozen bounds, after which they stop to have another look, and thus give the hunter a chance to speed three or four arrows. At close range an arrow that does not strike a bone will go entirely through the largest bull caribou and often fly a considerable distance on the other side. An animal wounded by an arrow that stays in the wound, and all do, unless they pass clear through, usually lies down to prevent the arrow from working in the wound, and is then easily approached for a second shot. I have known a single hunter to separately approach and kill three isolated caribou in a single day."

2: Stefansson--57 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"For spearing caribou a few members of the Puiplirmiut, Nagyuktogmiut, Pallirmiut, and Kogluktogmiut still use kayaks. Formerly, they say, while caribou were more numerous, kayaks were more numerous and much used. A few even of those who hunt farthest inland carry kayaks by sled or on their backs to astonishing distances from the sea. The summer of 1910 seven or more kayaks were brought to the lake, Imaernirk, in which the middle branch of the Dease River heads. On e of these came from the Kent Peninsula and had been packed on the back a hundred miles of that distance by Itigaaittok ('The Footless') whose toes and insteps of both feet froze off a few years ago and who has only the heels of his feet to walk on."

2: Stefansson--57 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221

"Many spearing places have of late been abandoned. One of the favorite ones up to a few years ago was Dismal Lake, at the Narrows (Cf. Hanbury's Account). This was last occupied by a single family the summer of 1909 but they got no deer and nearly starved. The summer of 1910 half a dozen families spent a part of the summer on Imaernirk Lake but were finally starved out. The Kogluktogmiut, perhaps the best caribou hunters as a group, carried no kayaks inland the summer of 1910, though they use them for crossing the river those summers when they fish at Bloody Fall instead of going to the Bear Lake hunt.

The method of waylaying and spearing caribou is the same as elsewhere described by Eskimo and need not be here described."

2: Stefansson--58 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 262

"When deer have been killed in some number, most of the meat is cut up and half-dried, spread out on stones. The blood is always taken and used for soups, and the moss contents of the stomachs are allowed to ferment a few days in the sun and then eaten. This last dish, fresh or fermented, is about the only article of vegetable diet used by these Eskimo."

2: Stefansson--58 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224

"Most of the caribou killed, however, are secured by the concerted action of several men, women, and children. Even the dogs help. When a band is discovered feeding a V-shaped 'fence' is constructed somewhere beyond their line of vision, generally to leeward. The 'fence' consists of straight lines of stones or pieces of sod raised on end and set twenty to forty yards apart. In spring, blocks of snow are used instead. These stones, sods or blocks of snow are often not over eighteen inches high and no particular pains need be taken as to their shape or appearance, though a dab of earth is usually put on a block of snow or light colored stone so as to make sure the animals will see it. Apparently the eyesight of caribou is very poor, as compared with that of man. When this fence is completed, (a half dozen men make one a mile long in an hour), the men conceal themselves in the angle of the V, the women and children with the dogs, go to windward of the deer to drive them. Usually the deer do not see the women who go to their windward. A few long-drawn wolf howls will generally set a band of deer in slow motion before the wind, or in the direction they are migrating. If they attempt to pass outside one of the wings of the V, someone is there to turn them, and usually the band moving in single file along one side the V-shaped fence, much like horses along a barbed-wire fence, arrives at a walk or slow trot at the point where the angle of the fence becomes so narrow, (about one hundred yards), that they begin to notice the fence on the other side and to see there is no opening. Then they bunch up irresolutely and give the

hunters a good opportunity to shoot. Members of our party have seen only as many as eleven caribou killed in this way by four hunters and half-a-dozen women and children. It is uncertain how many they get in lucky hauls, none can tell themselves, for none can count, but they considered eleven a small catch. Perhaps six to eight animals per hunter may be near the ordinary limit, though we have been told that occasionally not a single animal escapes of those that once enter the fence."

2: Stefansson--58-59 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 136, 224

"Most of those groups who hunt on the mainland kill a barren ground bear (Ursus richardsoni) now and then. These animals are not found in Victoria Island. A few musk-oxen are killed by the Kanhiryuarmiut only in Banks Island, by the Akuliakattagmiut west and northwest of Dismal Lake, and by the more easterly people in the district towards Kent Peninsula and southward perhaps to the Akilinik River. Otherwise, musk-oxen are extinct from the mainland and Victoria Island in the districts frequented [59] by the groups under discussion. Where there are musk-oxen they are naturally an easy prey for the Eskimo, who surround them with their dogs and usually kill every animal of every band found."

2: Stefansson--59 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 252, 262

"Caribou meat is more often eaten raw than cooked, whether fresh or half-dry, thawed, or frozen. Fish are also often eaten raw, whether frozen or not. This eating of raw meat and fish conforms to the Eskimo custom farther west, except that the western people show greater preference for the frozen state as opposed to the thawed. A raw dish peculiar to the Straits and Gulf Eskimo (at least, the Eskimo of my party knew nothing of such a practice) is fresh sealskin cut in small pieces with about a quarter inch of blubber left on it. The hair is not removed."

2: Stefansson--59 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 223, 237

"All groups shoot a few ptarmigans with bows; the only ones to whom birds and eggs are of much significance are those who summer in Victoria Island, some of these are said to kill numbers of swans and smaller water birds during the moulting season. The skins of all birds are used for hand wipers after eating greasy food, and the skins of loons are used for slippers between the socks and outer boots in winter. Loon skins are also used during the fly season in summer to beat off mosquitoes."

2: Stefansson--59 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 262

"A few wolves and foxes are killed every year, with the bow, for there is little trapping, and a good many spermophiles (marmots) are taken. The skins of all of these are valued for clothing, though deerskin is preferred, and the meat of all is eaten, though only the marmots are secured in numbers to make them of significance as sources of food. The Akuliakattagmiut and others kill a few muskrats, but they use neither skins nor meat but only use the tails for charms."

2: Stefansson--59 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 174

"[JMR: i. e., The Akuliakattagmiut and others kill a few muskrats, but they use neither skins for meat but only use the tails for charms.] This, as well as lack of knowledge of common berries as food, may go to show that the present territory has not long been occupied by these people. Further, had they come to Coronation Gulf either from the south or west they would have brought with them the habit of using these things, and would not have forgotten it while occupying the present territory which, comparatively speaking, abounds in berries and has numbers of muskrats. As to the muskrats, however, the Bear Lake Slaveys say that they, as well as the beaver and the moose are new arrivals north and east of Great Bear Lake. This may explain the Eskimo ignorance of their use."

2: Stefansson--60 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 252

"There is really but one method of cooking and that is boiling, though roasting before a fire is known. Fish and caribou are more often eaten raw than cooked, but caribou heads are always boiled and fish heads [redacted] boiled when convenient. Seal is seldom eaten raw, and never raw unless frozen, except in emergencies. The cooking is over the seal oil lamp in winter and generally over a fire of heather or small twigs in summer, even when good wood is at hand. The pots (stove) are long, narrow, and shallow, a large pot may be thirty inches long, eight inches wide, six inches deep. The seal meat or deer meat is usually cut in pieces of such a size that half of each piece sticks out of the water. In cooking over the lamp the meat (at least the first potful) is put in the cold water as the pot is hung over the lamp flame, and when the pot boils the lower half of the meat is considered cooked. The pieces are then turned around and now and then after that one is lifted out of the pot and squeezed between thumb and finger to see if it is sufficiently cooked. When one of the larger pieces seems done, the pot is emptied of the meat and some seal or caribou blood is added to make the blood soup which forms the last course of a properly arranged meal."

2: Stefansson--60 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 262

"In general, these Eskimo are not so fond of 'high' or partly decomposed fish as are those of the Mackenzie River and farther west, who generally prefer rotten to fresh fish for eating raw. Meat is more often eaten 'high' here than farther west, but that seems a result of circumstance and is not a matter of preference. Caribou liver is, however, highly esteemed here, as everywhere to the west, after being allowed to ferment for some days under a hot sun inside a moss-filled caribou stomach. Seal oil fermented in an air-tight bag from spring till fall is by all Eskimo.... much preferred to the fresh."

2: Stefansson--60-61 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 264

"In a snowhouse, where space is limited, the guests usually eat standing while the master of the house, his wife, and perhaps an especially honored visitor sit on the edge of the bed. The woman divides the meat into as many (or more) pieces as there are people present, squeezes each tightly between both hands so that no blood or juice shall later drip on the floor while it is being eaten, and hands the best piece to the guest of honor, i.e., a visitor from another village. If there is no especially distinguished guest, the woman hands the best piece to her husband, she will not keep a good piece for herself though she may make up for that by eating a few tidbits between meals. Each person present has a piece handed him in turn, the order being generally one of age, the oldest first. A middle-aged woman will be served ahead of a young man though an old woman or a decrepit man may be ranked lower than a middle-aged one. A few usually get a second helping though I have never seen enough pieces of meat at a meal to go twice around.

When the meat course is finished the warm blood soup is dipped up with [61] musk-ox horn dippers and these are passed around in about the same order as the meat was. Several persons often have to use the same dipper in succession; a single house seldom has more than five or six dippers and twelve or fifteen people often eat in a single house. If the pot is not large enough to satisfy all present, then it is filled with meat a second time, or a few of the younger people are given frozen instead of boiled meat. In case of

two or three boilings, each potful is eaten while the next is cooking, and the blood soup course follows only the last potful of meat.

The foregoing is based on the practice of the Akuliakattagmiut and Haneragmiut, who were the only ones visited while still living on the ice or by the seashore in May, 1910."

2: Stefansson--61 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 252, 262

"The summer food being caribou and fish mainly, there is less cooking done in summer than in winter, though there is usually one cooked meal per day, the morning meal commonly. The last course here too is generally warm (never hot) blood soup, though I have seen caribou blood drunk unboiled. Birds and spermophiles are almost always cooked, and as above stated caribou heads always are. Marrow bones are cracked and the marrow eaten raw; caribou back fat is sometimes boiled and the intestinal and kidney fat usually is boiled. Eggs are always boiled if a fire is available."

2: Stefansson--62 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 342

"The snow dwelling houses of the Mackenzie Eskimo proper were used only on journeys and under special circumstances. Among the Baillie Islands or most easterly branch of the Mackenzie people, snowhouses were frequently lived in all winter although wood and earth houses were also used. Among the Copper Eskimo no other form than the snowhouse is now in use nor was any other house in use in the past so far as the people themselves know. The Cape Bexley people were familiar with the wood and earth houses used on the section of coast west from them to Cape Lyon, but I infer that this familiarity came through the ruins of the houses only because they made about them some statements which are absurd in the light of our knowledge of the characteristics of the Eskimo house of the western type. They said that the people of this section of the country used to live in snowhouses in winter and in earth and wood houses in summer. The nature of an Eskimo house is that so soon as the sun begins to thaw the snow on its roof in the spring, the house begins to drip and must be vacated. This is true, I know, all the way from Point Hope east to Baillie Island and must be true wherever houses of the type are used. All summer the floor of one of these houses is a puddle of water and it is only next fall after the ground is thoroughly frozen that the dwellings become again habitable. It appears to me therefore an essential absurdity to suppose that the houses of which we saw the ruins west of Crocker River were used as summer dwellings.

The snowhouses of the Mackenzie people seem to have averaged considerably larger than the ones in use by the Copper Eskimo. It was common enough at Baillie Island that it was something like nine or ten feet from the floor to the top of the dome. In the east, however, houses of this size are erected only on special occasions when dances are to be held. One such house was built to celebrate our coming to the Akuliakattagmiut and was about nine feet in height and accommodated forty people standing up, with a circular space of about five feet in diameter left in the center free for the dancers.

The largest dwelling house we ever saw in actual use was among the Kanhiryuarmiut, where nine people slept under a single roof. At the time we were there they were using snow walls and a skin roof in that particular house, but we were told that the same family had occupied a snowhouse until a few days before. Five or six may generally be considered a large number for a single snowhouse and if there are only two or three inhabitants, the house is commonly no more than five by seven feet in the dimensions of its floor space and five and a half to six feet high from floor to the center of the dome."

2: Stefansson--64 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 356

"The house is now fit for occupancy and will be occupied as long as circumstances require. When the weather is cold out-of-doors, it is possible to keep the snowhouse very comfortably warm for the cold from the outside neutralized the heat from within and no melting takes place, but if the weather turns warm, melting soon starts. If the house has been perfectly built the dome is of such even curvature that no water drips down, but only trickles down the sides. If there is any unevenness, however, dripping will commence. This is temporarily dealt with by pressing a block of dry snow against the spot from which the water drips. This block will adhere to the roof without any danger of its dropping until it becomes thoroughlysoaked before which it should be removed and be replaced by a dry block. Occasionally, however, one naturally forgets to do this and it is not uncommon to have a block of soaking wet snow drop on the bed upon your head or into any food that you are eating."

2; Stefansson--65
116, 352, 251

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"It is also common that a house has an alcove for storage purposes either built on to the house or excavated into the snowbank in which the house stands. This alcove is used chiefly for the storing of meat and blubber although other articles may be kept there as well. Sometimes these storage alcoves are built into the wall of the alleyway just outside of the door of the house in which case they have to be closed with snow blocks for the dogs of the family occupy the alleyway and would help themselves if unrestrained."

2: Stefansson--65
116, 342, 221

(1908-1912) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"When the warm weather of spring comes upon a snowhouse village that is already built, the roofs will cave in while the walls remain intact. A few sticks are then put up for support and skins spread over. Only caribou skins are used, although sealskins, bearskins, and musk-ox skins are commonly used in emergencies."

2: Stefansson--66 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 281

"The tents in use in summer from Cape Bexley to the Kent Peninsula as seen near Bear Lake the summer of 1910 may be described as A-tents with bell ends. Commonly the tent of last year is during the winter cut up and used for some purpose, perhaps it has been fed to the dogs, or possibly it has been used for bedding. The tents of all but the most provident families are therefore in spring very small and unsatisfactory but each time a caribou is killed its skin goes to increase the size of the tent and by the latter part of summer everyone is suitably housed. The skins are always used with the hair side out whether they be sealskins or caribou skins. I have never seen musk-ox or bearskins used in summer. They are useful only in the transition stage while the snow walls are still in use and while the people are still able to haul their belongings in sleds. In the summer, when everything has to be carried on one's back, none but light skins can be conveniently used."

2: Stefansson--67 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 412, 415

"On the table in front of the lamp [AW: in the snow house] will usually be found some platters made of wood for holding meat and dippers of musk-ox horn from which the blood soup is drunk. There is also a woman's knife, the rod of antler which she uses in place of a fork to turn over the meat when it is boiling and to fish it out with when it is done, the blubber pounder of musk-ox horn to crush the frozen seal blubber before it is put into the lamp, and the short flat-tipped stick that is used for trimming the lamp. There is also kept convenient a little pencil-like stick the end of which is charred and stuck in grease. This can be made at any time to form a torch if anyone wants to look in a dark corner of the house or under the bed for something. By the door is a flat stick like a ruler that is used for beating the snow out of the clothes when anyone comes in from a blizzard."

2: Stefansson--67-68 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 488, 221

"In Coronation Gulf there are certain small islands upon which all sorts of household belongings can be safely left for the summer and everywhere the greater part of the property of a family is left behind in early spring, although [68] the cache may be nothing safer than a heap of stones which a polar bear might easily break into. Polar bears, however, are exceedingly rare, and thus the danger is really not very grave."

2: Stefansson--68 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 439, 174

"The lamps are of the type already familiar from Point Barrow. This is to be expected if, as the Mackenzie people say, the Point Barrow people used to buy lamps at Barter Island from the Mackenzie Eskimo who got them from the Baillie Islanders, who in turn got them from farther east. Lamps and pots were formerly costly in the west as compared with other artifacts, but are now cheap on Coronation Gulf, another thing that points to the Gulf as the source of pots, etc., used farther west."

2: Stefansson--69 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 264, 561

"At a meal the head of the house or an important visitor gets the first dipperful [JMR: i. e. of blood soup] but never gets a second helping until all present have had their turn. The woman who serves, drinks last, but grown women present are preferred to boys. Rank at meals is by age irrespective of sex; decrepit persons rank below those of middle age."

2: Stefansson--70 . (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 264, 412

"In eating, both sexes prefer to use ulus (women's knives), a copper ulu is preferred to a man's iron knife."

2: Stefansson--70 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 412, 354

"Clubs or mallets of musk-ox horn are used for pounding blubber before it is put in the lamp so the oil may run out more freely."

2: Stefansson--70 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 361

"Campsites are chosen with more care in summer than in winter. In the fall the Kogluktogmiut, they told us, are kept from moving out on the ice to the best sealing grounds by the lack of suitable snow for house-building everywhere except near shore. Why the Akuliakattagmiut remain near shore at Cape Bexley through the fall, till about the disappearing of the sun, we did not learn, but the reason is most likely the same. After midwinter, however, a village can be built wherever the ice is a little rough and has gathered snowdrifts of sufficient depth for house blocks and that is in several places every square mile of even the levelest ice the Straits can show. Of course, villages are seldom found in winter except in good sealing localities. What is a good site for a sealing village one year may not, however, be equally good the next for the seals, though more dependable than caribou, frequent certain localities more one year than another, the fluctuation depending probably largely on the season at which the ice forms in the fall and on the conditions of calm or storm under which it forms and its consequent roughness.

The summer of 1910 we saw several hundred sites of summer camps, two dozen or so of which were occupied when we saw them. The location is always marked by the stone tent rings (the stones that have been used to hold down the tent flaps) and usually by numerous other works of man, shavings of wood, bones and horns of animals, flat stones raised on edge for fireplaces, drying frames for meat, or for windbreaks, etc.

Over ninety percent of these are situated on hill tops that give a commanding view of the surrounding country. The reasons for choosing such hill tops were given as follows: 1) Fear of Indian attack; 2) Desire of a good view of the caribou feeding grounds; 3) The advantage of a wind-swept hill in mitigating the plague of mosquitoes and sandflies. Those that hunt toward Bear Lake told us the nearer they camped to the lake the more carefully they chose their campsites for 'you never know when or from where the Indians may come.' "

2: Stefansson--71 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 342, 725

"Another consideration in choosing a campsite [JMR: in summer] is that there shall be enough stones for camp purposes, to fasten down the tents, to form windbreaks, fireplaces, etc., to furnish suitable slabs and boulders on which to spread meat to dry, and perhaps most important of all, to give a background with which the color of the tents so harmonized as to make them difficult to perceive from a distance. The tents generally have a mottled appearance due to the use of whole caribou skins, the animals are much darker on some parts of the body than on others. This harmonizes well with the huge mossgrown boulders and stone slabs that cumber the hill tops about the sources of the Dease and along the Coppermine to McTavish Bay of Bear Lake. A dozen tents are often so artfully pitched that the men and dogs moving about them can be seen at a greater distance than the tents, while an Indian lodge or a white man's tent can usually be seen four times as far as could men standing around them. In August, 1910, our camp was for a few days located a quarter mile across a small lake from an Eskimo camp of some seven tents. Though this camp was on the skyline as seen from ours, we had the greatest difficulty in making it out without the use of glasses, so little did a tent on the skyline differ in shape and color from a boulder on the skyline. Looking from their camp to ours the small details of arrangement could easily be made out."

2: Stefansson--77-78 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 252, 372

"In cooking with heather, the oblong stone pots are set up on small blocks of stone about the height of a common house-building brick laid edge-wise, or perhaps an inch higher. A long slab of stone is then taken and set on edge at the back of the pot and two smaller ones at either end of it, so as to form three sides of a rectangular box for the pot. Fire is then built and small handfuls of heather or a shaving at a time of wood are pushed under the pot to keep a low blaze constantly going.

Our own Eskimo refused for a long time to cook with heather when we were traveling with a party of Coronation Gulf Eskimo, saying their people [78] (Port Clarence, Alaska, and Mackenzie River) never cooked that way. They would therefore hunt far and wide for green dwarf willows, but by the time there were willows enough gathered by our party, further operations would be stopped by hospitable shouts from the other tents to come over and have supper. They had boiled two successive potfuls of meat and sometimes three, while we were getting ready to build a fire. This was too much for the conservatism even of Eskimo and towards the end of the summer our Eskimo could cook a potful of meat as quickly as anybody, though there seemed always an undercurrent of feeling that they were doing something unworthy, and there was much rejoicing in our camp over finding a patch of large willows to camp by, though I cannot see that it helped us to get supper any quicker.

But as our Eskimo prefer wood, for fuel, so the Coronation Gulf people prefer heather.

When heather is scarce and far from camp and wood near and easy to get, they often waste much time gathering and carrying heather. . . . "

2: Stefansson--78 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 372, 181

"When heather is scarce and far from camp and wood near and easy to get, they often waste much time gathering and carrying heather, but so often do white men traveling with Eskimo waste time and energy doing in their own way what could be quickly and better done in the way of their companions. It is a common human trait, though the Eskimo has it developed more strongly than most other people, more strongly than the most 'old-fashioned' European."

2: Stefansson--78 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 484, 221

"In winter there is little long distance travel by large parties, the individuals and groups of two or three families often make long journeys for trading purposes, to pay visits, or to return to their own people after summer wanderings to distant hunting grounds. Such travel as there is, is by sled exclusively."

2: Stefansson--79-80 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 493, 398

"A few sleds in the Straits and as far east as Rae River are shod with whalebone in the usual Eskimo way, strips of bone cut lengthwise from the bone of the lower jaw (inferior maxillary bone) of a bowhead whale. Generally, however, the shoeing of a sled is as follows:

The runner to begin with, is a spruce wood plank about one and a half inches thick and twelve or fourteen inches high. To the bottom of this is pegged with round wooden pegs a thin strip of wood, the width of the runner. This strip is of as decayed and 'fuzzy' a kind as is obtainable, a piece of half decayed driftwood is preferred. In the fall, when the sled is to be used sod is cut in strips as long as convenient and about three inches thick and four inches wide. Lengthwise, along the flat side of these is cut a groove the width of the sled runner and the sod is put under the runners as shoeing. With a little water these are securely frozen to the bottom of the runners, the fuzz of the half-decayed wood holding them securely. The bottom of the runners is then rounded off with an adze or knife so the sod takes the form of a longitudinally bisected cylinder. The last touch is given by turning the sled upside down and washing over the sod runners with a little water to give them a one-tenth inch coating of ice. This ice coat is inspected every day of travel and repaired when necessary; the sod shoeing usually lasts a whole winter without special attention being paid to it. In spring when the sun shines warm a skin is hung loosely over the sunward side of the sled to shield the runners when traveling from the direct rays of the sun, and at camp time, the sleds are buried in snow to

keep the sod shoeing from dropping off and the ice coat on its bottom from melting. In various places I have seen different ways of applying ice to the shoeing of sleds but none seems so satisfactory as this, at least, none are so well adapted to use on rough ice or stony ground. Ice is no doubt the best form of shoeing ever devised for sledging at low temperatures. We have seen sleds thus shod carrying a thousand pounds and more of load traveling at the rate of two miles an hour hauled by one man, one woman, and two dogs. [80] Traveling in the same company we had some difficulty keeping up with the party with six good dogs and two men hauling six hundred pounds on a steel shod sled such as is now used by all Eskimo west of Baillie Islands. Steel has many advantages and is the best all-round shoeing in spring and fall but it grates on the snow as on sand when used at temperatures prevalent in the Arctic from December to April. Ice is the best possible shoeing for low temperatures, it most nearly eliminates friction."

2: Stefansson--80-81 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 221, 484

"When bound for the caribou hunting grounds and fisheries in the spring most families start inland by sleigh, though some are delayed on the coast by [81] this or that circumstance till the thaws have made sledding impossible. Those usually spend the summer not far inland, though we have seen within ten miles of Bear Lake men who had packed their camps on their backs from the mouth of Rae River or Coronation Gulf. A large kill of caribou near the coast may delay any party till the thaw overtakes them, but commonly they penetrate seventy-five or one hundred miles inland before the disappearance of snow (about the first week in June for the Coppermine district) compels the abandoning of sleds."

2: Stefansson--81 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 484, 502

"On a windy day the long kayaks though they weigh not over forty pounds are very awkward to carry, and camp-moving is often delayed by a gale. When traveling a man will usually not take the trouble to launch his kayak on a lake less than two or three miles long. When a sufficiently long lake is found the kayak is put in the water, the rest of the man's back-load is stuffed into the after end of it, and the man paddles quickly across. But the speed and ease are not all pure gain, for the wetting has increased the carrying weight of the boat and it has taken time to unpack and repack the load. When there are two kayaks they are lashed together side by side with cross sticks to form a sort of raft capable of carrying a heavy load. In that case the women who have to walk around the lake, are relieved of a part of their load. This makes travel easier and pleasanter for all, and routes abounding in lakes are therefore chosen when possible. Those lakes will later on too, furnish good sled routes when the party returns to the coast in the fall along its line of caches."

2: Stefansson--81 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 482, 221

"When moving camp in summer the woman carries the stone cooking pot wrapped in bed skins, for the pot is very fragile. She also carries, if there be any, pups that are too small to walk and usually she carries the tent besides. If he has a kayak, the man carries this, his bow, arrows, all his tools, fragments of copper for making arrow-heads to replace those lost, and some other odds and ends. The one or two dogs carry backloads of meat and drag the sticks that go to make the tent frames. Thus loaded, the party travels at the rate of about two miles per hour but seldom moves over eight miles per day. The loads carried by the men and women are about of the same weight, and seldom exceed eighty pounds, for if there is more meat on hand than the dogs can carry they either delay till the surplus is eaten or dried down to suitable weight, or else a stone cache is made for the meat to serve as a relay on the return journey to the coast. Generally, therefore, a family returns to the coast by the way it came south in the spring, or else someone else takes up the caches if some special reason sends the owner by another route. Things en cache seem to belong strictly to the maker of a cache, though all eat equally of the meat when the cache is once broken. Very seldom does anyone, however, help himself from another man's meat pile, his wife is expected to serve out the food to all who want it."

2: Stefansson--82
116, 398, 322

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"During the summer the people who hunt south of the Dease, chop out with their adzes planks of green spruce and set them up to dry. At the freeze-up the camps concentrate around these places, and sleds are made for the return journey to the coast. Some sleds are well made, if the maker intends it for permanent use or to trade off to the Victoria Islanders; some are poorly made and intended to serve only for a few days or weeks till the cache is reached where they left their good sled in the spring."

2: Stefansson--82-83 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 398, 322

"At these sledmaking places are made also, both for use and to trade, quantities of wooden furniture and utensils, dishes, pails, tables, lamp supports, bows, etc. The favorite sled-making place south of Coronation Gulf is on a branch of the Dease (not indicated on the ordinary maps) that heads near the northeast corner of McTavish [83] Bay, flows north, west, and then southwest into the Dease, joining that river about fifteen or eighteen miles above its mouth. The immediate locality is a clump of trees only a few acres in extent, located about fifteen miles up stream from the confluence of the Dease. This place is well-known to the Bear Lake Slaveys and is called by them 'Big Stick Island.' "

2: Stefansson--84 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 226, 411

"There are two methods of catching fish, by hook and by spear. The hooks are generally of copper, unbarbed. The spear is of the ordinary Eskimo three-pronged type the barbs of the two side prongs being of copper, typically, and the prongs themselves of musk-ox horn or caribou antler. These spears are often mounted on handles over twenty feet long. A combination of the hook and spear is found in hooks mounted on spear handles. The difference in use between these and spears is merely that in spearing the fish is transfixed by a thrust, in hooking it is transfixed by a jerk towards the fisherman. The simple hooks are generally used without bait. In using the spear or pole-hook the fisherman holds the shaft in one hand, while with the other he dangles in the water near the spear or hook, a bait attached to a long string. This bait is usually the canine tooth of a wolf or bear."

2: Stefansson--84-85 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 224

"The caribou spear is used only in connection with the kayak for killing deer as they swim lakes or rivers. There are typically two spears to a set. When the kayaks at the spearing places are made ready to be launched two spears are attached to the deck of the craft, forward of the manhole; in [85] traveling the spears are usually packed inside the kayak. The head is not barbed nor detachable, as the weapon is intended for repeated successive rapid stabs at the same animal or different animals. The heads of spears seen by us (not over twenty all together) were in about equal number of copper and iron."

2: Stefansson--85 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 524

"Very small boys (under six years) sometimes have toy bows of the rib of a caribou or musk-ox, or of an unshaped willow twig. Boys of eight years and over, women, and able-bodied hunters alike have three-piece bows, the difference as to the age and sex of the owner being expressed solely through the weight and stiffness of the bow and the length and character of the head of the arrows."

2: Stefansson--85 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 313

"The bows of the Akuliakattagmiut are generally made of driftwood, as well as those of the Haneragmiut and the Victoria Islanders north and west of them. All these get the materials from the mainland shore near Cape Bexley, except the Kanhiryuarmiut who secure driftwood to some extent on their own coast, but also on the west coast of Banks Island."

2: Stefansson--85-88 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 436, 439

"All these [JMR: i.e., the Akuliakattagmiut, Haneragmiut, Kanhiryuarmiut, and Victoria Islanders] buy many bows, ready made, however, more especially the Victoria Islanders. In trade among themselves an ordinary seven-inch butcher knife (generally from Hudson Bay) is equal in value to a good bow with [88] bow case, quiver, and full complement of arrows, fifteen to twenty. A 'number One' steel sewing needle was worth about the same in 1910."

2: Stefansson--88 (1908-1912) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 322, 411

"The Kogluktogmiut and others who hunt towards Bear Lake make their bows exclusively of green spruce trees. These are chopped down with adzes and roughed-out in midsummer. After drying a month or so the bow materials are further shaped with the crooked knife and perhaps made into bows on the spot, perhaps carried unfinished to the coast in the fall."

2: Stefansson--88 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 439, 221

"The Victoria Islanders east of the Haneragmiut, a few families of them each year, practise hunting in summer to the Coppermine and Bear Lake for the purpose of securing wood for bows for themselves and for trade, as well as wood for other articles. Besides this, they buy many bows, chiefly perhaps, from the Kogluktogmiut."

2: Stefansson--89 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 237

"The backing of the bows is preferably of the leg sinew of old bull caribou; the leg sinew of smaller animals is also used, and even back sinew. There are three or more different ways of preparing this backing and applying to to the bow. The bowstring is of sinew braided three-ply into a long slender line. This length between tips of the strung bow is from four and a half to five and a half feet in those used by men; those for women and boys are smaller in all dimensions with less sinew backing and more slender bowstrings."

2: Stefansson--92 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 391

"The head is glued into the antler forepiece of the shaft with seal blood, usually, though it is sometimes fastened with copper rivets. The shank of the antler piece fits tightly into, but is not glued into, its socket in the wooden shaft. It does not seem to be deliberately intended that the head or antler piece shall be detachable, but as a matter of fact, in about two cases out of three, the wooden shaft does become detached and is usually lost if the wounded animal carries the arrow far, while an arrow-head is seldom lost that strikes an animal, unless the animal escapes."

2: Stefansson--96 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"A defect of the 'Tartar' bow is that as its shooting power depends entirely, or almost so, on the sinew backing, the weapon becomes weak or useless if the sinew gets damp. Eskimo therefore protect their bows carefully in bags of water-proof seal-skin, and are reluctant to use them in a rain or even a heavy fog. For this reason, also, the bows must be daily tested to see if the backing or the bowstring has become too tense or too lax from dryness or damp. There is seldom a day, even when the bow is not used, that it is not partly taken to pieces for one reason or another, generally to give an extra twist to the backing to relax it by taking a turn out of it."

2: Stefansson--96 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"The 'killing arrow' differs from the others in having no metal head. On the front of the shaft of wood is set a long double-edged dagger blade of caribou antler from eight to twelve inches long. This arrow is used to despatch wounded animals and is discharged at close range behind the shoulder of the caribou into the heart. It is also used by the men to shoot birds, as men seldom carry blunt arrows. This arrow is never barbed.

The blunt bird arrows are carried only by women and boys and are used chiefly against ptarmigan. The shaft is of the ordinary character, except a little shorter than is usual. The head is of antler (or of wood, in the case of very small boys) and has a flat front end or one slightly rounded, to give a stunning blow."

2: Stefansson--97 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 411

"Deadfall traps are known, but we have seen none in use. One man of the Kogluktogmiut had two common steel traps from Hudson Bay through Uminmuktok; he had never set them for wolves or foxes but used them for trapping birds at their nests, and for spermophiles. This man had a wolfskin coat of two wolves he had shot with his bow. Ordinary snares seem unknown, either for use against animals or birds, but boys catch spermophiles (marmots) with a string snare set in the mouth of the hole, when the animal emerges from the hole the string is jerked after the manner of farm boys catching gophers."

2: Stefansson--97 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 224, 501

"The kayak might be described as a hunting implement for it is only incidentally used for other purposes than spearing caribou. It is never used, we were told, for sealing. A sufficient explanation for which is that the people are never on the sea and seldom near it during the period of open water. The kayak has, so far as we know, disappeared during the present generation from among Kanhiryuarmiut, the Nuwukpagmiut, Haneragmiut, and Akuliakattagmiut and is owned by less than one hunter of five among all the other groups familiar to us. It seems in danger of becoming obsolete."

2: Stefansson--98-99 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 411, 412

"The copper snow knives, and the iron ones, if the material allows it, have [99] a broad, double-edged spear blade six to twelve inches long, mounted on a handle of caribou long enough to easily accommodate the two mittened hands of the man who uses it, or a handle from seven to ten inches long. The handle is wound with split roots of the small arctic willow. It flares at the end into a thin, kidney-shaped widening. One side of this kidney-shaped spade is perforated and a string attached for tying the knife fast to the bow case in summer, when it is used as a hunting and skinning knife. The sheath for the knife is separately tied to the bow case, so that the knife lies horizontally when the bow and quiver are slung across the hunter's back. In winter the knife is carried in the sled, or held in the hand."

2: Stefansson--99-101 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 412, 174

"The two things of perhaps the greatest interest about the knives are: (a) that the knives are always sharpened not only on both sides the blade, but each edge is sharpened from both sides, as white men sharpen a knife, while from the Baillie Islands west to the Yukon mouth, both on the coast and inland, Eskimo sharpen knives of all sizes on one side the edge only, or in the manner in which we sharpen scissors. Coronation Gulf and Victoria Island people sharpen only the [101] crooked knife, scissor fashion. (b) The fidelity with which the shape of the copper knives is copied in the iron knives whenever the character of the material allows fidelity. If the blade as a whole cannot be coerced into shape, the peculiar local type of point will at least be given it; the same point as is found on all their arrows, spears, and lances. This type of point is not familiar to me from farther west, where the blade of any butcher knife is soon filed into the type shown in Fig. 45. It is to be expected that in knives as well as other things closer affinities will be found to the east than to the west, for our discussion goes to show that not only in the recent past, but also in the more distant past, relations with the east have been more continuous and probably more friendly."

2: Stefansson--102 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 372, 412

"The three-piece drill, bowdrill, or firedrill is here what it is elsewhere, practically. The bow is usually one of the long ribs of a musk-ox, and the mouth-piece often the bone from the hock-joint of a caribou, and the stem of the drill of antler, musk-oxen, or bear bone, the point most often of iron but occasionally of copper. For drilling the eyes of needles, the drill point is usually a fragment of a broken needle."

2: Stefansson--102-103 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 463, 437

"But besides this sexual division of labor there is a rudimentary one of another sort. Lame men or others for some reason not well able to hunt are likely to be occupied in the making and mending of implements and utensils and in some cases a man's skill at bow-making or pot-making is well known to be superior to the average and he therefore makes bows and pots for his neighbours occasionally merely as a favor, but [103] sometimes also for pay. Commonly a man who makes pots, for instance, is thereby handicapped in hunting and is consequently paid in caribou skins which he needs to clothe himself and his family."

2: Stefansson--103 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 322, 438

"There is also a specialization of industries by tribes according to the natural resources of the country. The Kogluktogmiut and others who hunt south to the woods of Great Bear Lake during the summer, make from spruce saplings large numbers of the type of tent poles necessary for the A-shaped skin tents that are in common use. They also make complete bows of wood, sinew, and antler all of which are more abundant among them than among most other of the mainland tribes. They also rough out the wooden materials for bows intended for sale to men who themselves are sufficiently supplied with sinew to be able to finish the work.

Commonly, those who hunt to Bear Lake abandon their sleds in the spring in the neighborhood of the seacoast and make new ones in the Bear Lake woods upon which to haul to the coast their household gear and the wooden wares they have made in summer. When they get to the coast with these new sleds they find there waiting for them the old sled of the year before and as no man has more than three dogs nor use for more than one sled, there is always one sled for sale.

Besides the articles already mentioned, the Bear Lake hunters during the summer make large numbers of snow shovels, wooden platters, planks intended for the floors of snowhouses, tables, and sideboards to be used in connection with the cooking over the seal oil lamp and the uprights and cross pieces needed for supporting the lamp on the table and for swinging the stone pots as well as supporting the drying frame upon which

the damp clothing is dried over the flame of the lamp, harpoon shafts, and spear shafts both for the caribou lance and the fishing spear as well as for the long gaffs that are chiefly used by the fishermen at Bloody Fall. All these are made in greater quantities than are needed by the makers and the Bear Lake hunters may therefore be considered merchants in wooden ware."

2r Stefansson--103-112 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 322, 438

"While the Bear Lake people make their implements and utensils out of green standing trees which they chop down at great labor with adzes, the Akuliakattagmiut also make various wooden articles for sale out of the driftwood which is more abundant on their beach than upon the shores of the rest of the Copper Eskimo district. While the Bear Lake men have to rough out each piece from green wood and leave it for months to dry before the wood is seasoned enough for finishing, the Akuliakattagmiut find the wood already seasoned to their hand. Neither do they have to carry the made articles long distances to the seacoast as do the Bear Lake traders. As a consequence, the Akuliakattagmiut are also great makers of sleds and bows and other wooden things with which they supply a considerable [112] portion of Victoria Island. Their sleds and their bows are considered to be about as good as those from Bear Lake although the bows intended for sale are seldom if ever completely finished for caribou sinew is scarce with the Akuliakattagmiut. In one thing only do the Bear Lake products excel according to popular estimation and that is that their tent poles being made of the slim saplings that grow in the thick woods are better than ones made on the sea shore by the splitting of large logs and adzing them down."

2: Stefansson--112-113 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 439, 324

"The making of a stone lamp is evidently not so difficult a task. The chief tool used nowadays is an iron adze, the iron being procured chiefly by tribe to tribe trade from Hudson Bay, although some of it is said to date back to the finding and plundering of M'Clure's ship on the north coast of Banks Island, which must have been somewhere in the '50's of the last century. When iron is not at hand it is said that tools of stone take its place. As all soapstone products are fragile and especially so the cooking pots because they are made thin, there arises continually the necessity of supplying new pots and lamps. In earlier times before the coming of the Hudson Bay trading post at Fort McPherson on the Lower Mackenzie broke up the chain of continuity of the coastal trade between Coronation Gulf and Bering [113] Strait, it is probable that the making of stone lamps and pots was an industry of far greater proportions than it is today. For, as elsewhere pointed out, it seems clear that this community and ones east of it supplied all the steatite cooking gear used to the west as far as Siberia."

2: Stefansson--113 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 326, 439

"Of the tribes whom we visited, the Kanhiryuarmiut are preeminently the makers of weapons and implements of copper. From the deposits northeast of Prince Albert Sound and from pieces of float which they pick up here and there they make long-bladed hunting knives, the ordinary shaped woman's knives, crooked knives for whittling purposes, copper rods for foreshafts of seal harpoons, points for ice chisels, blades for caribou spears, seal harpoons and arrows, prongs for fish hooks, needles for sewing, and nails and spikes used in the making or mending of articles of wood, horn, or bone. Naturally, they have more practice than members of other tribes in the making of these copper articles and they are the wares for which they purchase sleds and other wooden articles, which if they are from the Cape Bexley region come to them through the intermediary of the Haneragmiut while if they are from Bear Lake they come through the territory of the Puiplirmiut. Some of these copper articles also they take with them on their long trade excursions to the head of Chesterfield Inlet where they exchange them for articles of wood and even for certain white men's wares for although they do not meet white men of the Akilinik, they meet there Eskimo who deal with the white men of Hudson Bay.

Besides the sale of made articles of copper, there is also a considerable trade in raw materials. The chief of these are pieces of unshaped copper and the skins of summer-killed caribou. The caribou skins seem to go chiefly to the Akuliakattagmiut through the hands of the Haneragmiut in exchange for articles of wood."

2: Stefansson--113 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 438, 316

"As has been pointed out above, the Haneragmiut receive copper and caribou skins from the north and articles of wood from the south and these act as go-betweens for the Haneragmiut and Akuliakattagmiut. Their only peculiar local resource is that there are some deposits of iron pyrites, a substance that is universally used by the Copper Eskimo in kindling fire, and this they sell to many of the surrounding tribes."

2: Stefansson--121 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 301, 778

"Bone buttons, round or rectangular in outline, are worn by children bound on the forehead above and between the eyes, these are purely charms, we were told. Each child wears only one button. Almost any conceivable thing may be carried, usually in a bag, as a general charm by either men or women, usually, though, it is some rare thing, as something they have found in a deserted Indian camp, a part of some rare bird or animal, etc."

2; Stefansson--121 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 291, 293

"Loon skins and duck skins are used for slippers inside boots in very cold weather; the skins are also carried in summer to beat off mosquitoes from one's face and neck."

2: Stefansson--126 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 302, 515

"The hair is probably never washed. The women occasionally wash their faces by spitting into the palm of the hand and then rubbing the face. As they have no mirrors they sometimes forget to clean one part or another of their faces, which gives them a rather unusual appearance. This washing is most likely to take place on the arrival of visitors from a distance, and usually is performed in their presence."

2: Stefansson--128 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 787, 783

"If a famine occurs, for instance, a shaman will magically inquire from his familiar spirit why the food has become scarce and the answer is likely to be that some member of the tribe has done such and such a thing in secret. A woman member of the tribe may perhaps have eaten the meat from the wrong rib of a mountain sheep. When the spirit informs the medicineman that the woman has done this, he calls upon her to confess that she has done it. If she confesses the famine will end and all will be well, but if she brazenly asserts that she has done no such things as charged with, then the most serious misfortunes will continue to fall upon the people."

2: Stefansson--128 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 784, 561

"It is a general rule that more prohibitions fall upon the young than upon the old and upon women than upon men. A child will outgrow certain prohibitions by the mere passing of years and attainment of stature. Others he leaves behind him through the accomplishment of something such as the winning of a race, the killing of a bear, or the attainment of perfection in the art of snowhouse building or kayak paddling. Other prohibitions are left behind when the persons in question become the parents of children. This is more especially true of women. There are other prohibitions, however, that fall upon the parent at the birth of a child so that the total number of prohibitions may remain unaltered or may even be increased."

2: Stefansson--128
116, 784, 787

(1908-12) 1914

Copper Eskimo

"It is common that if a man is sick or has poor success in hunting or if there is any other fact or condition that he wants to change he applies to a shaman to find out what he shall do to attain his ends. The shaman will usually after the performance of suitable ceremonial rites of the summoning of his familiar spirit find out that some hitherto unsuspected thing is really aglernaktok to the man in question and he announces this fact. It may be that the man has been fond of eating the fat at the back of the eye of a caribou and he is told that this is aglernaktok [JMR: i. e., taboo] to him and will remain so until he is full grown, until he is married, until his son kills his first caribou, or up to the consummation of any similar thing. In a few cases it is discovered that a man is aglirktok for life with reference to one or more things."

2: Stefansson--129 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 181, 177

"In the district to which the personal knowledge of the writer extends (from Wainwright Inlet, Alaska, to the east end of Coronation Gulf) the Eskimo are in general satisfied with their conditions of life, the least so in the extreme west where the obtrusive pity and insistent commiseration of certain white men has taught them to pretend a discontent which they do not really feel, or at least do not feel in the way in which they have been taught to express it."

2: Stefansson--131 (1908-12) 1914 Copper Eskimo
116, 731, 847

"Of the exposing of babies we have learned nothing direct. Among the Akuliakattagmiut the proportion of the sexes leads one to suppose that the exposing of female children is practised. We found here ten women of marriageable age as against nineteen men. In all other groups the men are more numerous than the women, the difference is nowhere else so great as at Cape Bexley.

To whatever extent the abandonment of the aged and the exposing of children does exist, it may be considered a direct result of the scarcity of food, for it is found rarely or not at all in such prosperous, well-fed communities as those of Cape Smythe (Point Barrow) and the Mackenzie Delta, while among all inlanders it is so common as to scarcely induce comment."